

Fall 1981

DIARY OF THE DAMNED: A STUDY IN THEOCENTRIC ANXIETY IN PRE- AWAKENING NEW ENGLAND

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University of New Hampshire

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DIARY OF THE DAMNED:
A STUDY IN THEOCENTRIC ANXIETY
IN PRE-AWAKENING NEW ENGLAND

BY

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DISSERTATION

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in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
History

September, 1981

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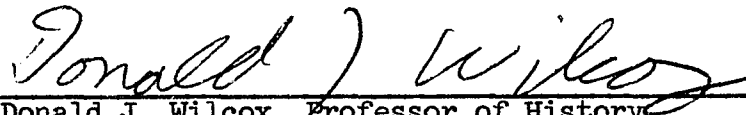
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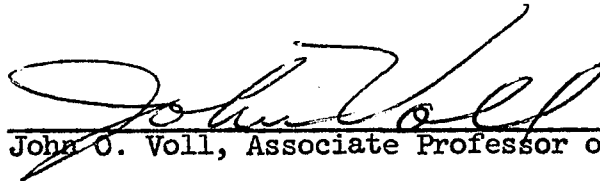
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June 15, 1981

FOR JEAN

AMASIA MEA

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JOSEPH MOODY DIARY -- ACTUAL SIZE

11

| | | | |
|------------------|---|------------------|---|
| <p>Jan. 23</p> | <p>Began at Capt. Noyes. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Jan. 24</p> | <p>Now at length the ground is covered with about 4 inches of snow. of great use. 20. But gone again by 24.</p> |
| <p>Sat. 12</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Mon. 20</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Mon. 13</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Tue. 21</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Tue. 14</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Wed. 22</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Wed. 15</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Thurs. 23</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Thurs. 16</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Fri. 24</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Fri. 17</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Sat. 25</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Sat. 18</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Sun. 26</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Sun. 19</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Mon. 27</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Mon. 20</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Tue. 28</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Tue. 21</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Wed. 29</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |
| <p>Wed. 22</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> | <p>Thurs. 30</p> | <p>2nd day of the snow. 14. 30 Soldiers moved up to Sun End. 13.</p> |

ABSTRACT

DIARY OF THE DAMNED: A STUDY IN THEOCENTRIC ANXIETY

IN PRE-AWAKENING NEW ENGLAND

by

RAYMOND BERNARD WILBUR

University of New Hampshire, September, 1981

The diary of Joseph Moody, the subject of this dissertation, hidden behind a coded Latin text for 240 years, reveals the intensity with which some New England Puritans pursued the preparationist-predestinarian discipline propounded by Thomas Shepard and others among New England's founding fathers. Such was the "preacher's gift" of Samuel Moody to his son Joseph, in the preparationist tradition of Shepard, that the son became convinced that God had passed him by and that he was irretrievably lost and damned forever. The diary is young Moody's record of his futile quest for signs of his election and salvation.

Deeply troubled by an abstract sense of sin and lostness, Moody sought alternatives to the preparationist-predestinarian scheme he had inherited from Shepard and his father. He read what was available to him of the writings of Puritans of old and New England, finding that there were indeed alternatives to the system in which he had been nurtured. He read also the writings of certain Arminians as well as the works of Stoddard

in New England and of Baxter in old England, men who had tried in different ways to modify the severity of the preparationist-predestinarian system.

Moody seems to have moved toward a tolerant, more open theological position as he pursued a career in public life and then in the ministry, but in his early thirties he experienced a mid-life crisis of faith that resulted in mental and physical collapse after the death of his wife.

Eventually he recovered, assisted to some extent at least by his reading of Jonathan Edwards's Religious Affections. His relationship to Edwards reflects the way in which the preparationist system had been modified by the mid-seventeenth-century. The issues of preparationist-predestinarian theology were by-passed by multitudes of New Englanders at the expense of theological acuity during the revivalism of the Great Awakening. Growth in Christian graces and attention to the prerogatives of divine sovereignty gave way to preoccupation with a man-centered personal religious experience. But not so for Moody, who maintained a modified version of preparationist-predestinarian belief and practice till his dying hour. Moody's experience calls for a reappraisal of established interpretations of New England preparationism and for a recognition that conversion and salvation meant, in New England after the Great Awakening, something quite different from what it had meant to the New England preparationists.

CHAPTER I

THE MAN AND THE DIARY

For Nathaniel Hawthorne he was the Reverend Mr. Hooper, the minister who hid his face behind the black veil.¹ He was also, for Hawthorne, "old Moodie" of the Blithedale Romance, the enigmatic symbol of Puritan character.² To generations of citizens of his community he has been "Handkerchief Moody," the eccentric son of an eccentric, fiery Puritan pastor.³ For Clifford Shipton, as for Jonathan Greenleaf who first took notice of the diary, he was a man of unstable mind whose diary shows, said Shipton, "that his mind was 'peculiarly diseased' for the greater part of his life."⁴ He was, in life, Joseph Moody, born May 16, 1700, in what was then York, Massachusetts, now York, Maine.

Moody's world was one of violence and uncertainty. His father, Samuel Moody, a Harvard College graduate of the class of 1697, came to York in 1698 at the age of twenty-two to serve as chaplain to the frontier garrison there. Six years before, the town had been devastated by an Indian assault that had reduced the population to less than two hundred souls and had left the body of the minister dead upon the shore at York Harbor. Samuel Moody found the town in physical, moral and spiritual disarray.⁵ Instead of the devout piety which we generally associate with early New England, the people of the town displayed the nervous frivolity and levity of those

who lived on the edge of their own personal Armageddon. Samuel Moody set about to change all that and for the next forty-nine years he held before the people of the church and town a fate more awesome and terrifying than a mere massacre of half the town's population at the hands of their Indian adversaries. The salvation of the hesitant sinner was, for Samuel Moody, more vital than deliverance from the hands of one's mortal foes. Complacency on the frontier of the human spirit was for him far more dangerous than even on the frontier of the northern wilderness. Moody was a master at invoking the imagery of dying men to warn the secure of the judgment to come. Three generations of York citizens and their children sat with varied emotions under the relentless preaching of eternal death and everlasting punishment. When the Great Awakening came to York in the early 1740s many souls were ripe for the harvest--except Samuel Moody's only son Joseph.

Joseph Moody was born the same year his father received his Master of Arts degree from Harvard College and was ordained by the York church. Joseph's mother was Hannah Sewall, a cousin of the diarist Judge Samuel Sewall, and, like her husband, a native of Newbury, Massachusetts. Moody's early education was under the tutelage of Nathaniel Freeman who was hired by the town in 1701 to teach reading, writing, and "sifering" to all persons (boys and girls) five years and older who desired to be taught.⁶ Years later, after he had graduated from Harvard, Moody succeeded Freeman as York's schoolmaster.

Tragedy marred young Moody's life at an early age. On

August 25, 1708, "Mr. Moodeys son of York, a lad of 8 or 9 years old, firing off a pistol childishly, shot Capt. Prebles son (a lad of 12 years) thro the Temples and killed him."⁷

Shipton's account of the incident relates that Father Moody made his son sit up all night with the body.⁸

In the winter of 1711 Samuel Moody took his son to Cambridge in order that he might be prepared for Harvard College.⁹ After three years in Cambridge young Moody was admitted to the college with the advantages of having a well-known father, the prestigious Judge Sewall as cousin and benefactor, and a future president of the college, Edward Holyoke, as his tutor.¹⁰ He was a diligent but average student. He left no record of infringement of college rules, a commendation more rare than one might suppose. In due time he was appointed a scholar of the house, and he ranked a little above the middle of his class.

His removal from York to the relative security of Cambridge did not absolve young Moody of all fear of violence and death. In his fifteenth year he learned that his father had offered to exchange him for the son of Chief Bomazeen of the Eastern Indians, with whom the English colonists were intermittently at war. The elder Moody apparently assumed that the exchange of sons would somehow lessen the incidents of armed conflict and also give him the opportunity to convert the son of the famous chief under the guise of teaching him the English language. Chief Bomazeen was less willing, however, to risk the conversion of his son to Protestantism (the Eastern Indians were under the instruction of the Jesuit missionary Sebastian

Rôle) than Samuel Moody was to risk the life of his son in the hands of the Eastern Indians.¹¹

Moody learned at an early age that death came often to the young as well as to the old. In July 1716, "Cousin Moody from York, with her son Joseph" were present at the funeral of Judge Sewall's daughter, the thirty-five year old Elizabeth Sewall Hirst, the mother of Mary Hirst, the future Lady Pepperel. Four days later Thomas Sewall, Moody's cousin and classmate, lay dead, bringing added sorrow to the wide-spread family and to the college. The funeral sermon was preached by Samuel Moody, and Joseph was one of the bearers.

In the fall of 1717 Moody returned to York, believing that he was fatally ill with consumption. By the spring of 1718, however, he had recovered sufficiently to travel to Wells and to Newbury, where the Reverend Dr. Christopher Toppan, a physician, assured him that he did not have consumption at all and that he soon would recover completely.¹² In a note to his friend and classmate, Nathan Prince, Moody put his college years in perspective by asking Prince to "pray earnestly that if God shall see meat to let me live that I may live to his Glory else I had better been dead seven Year[s] ago." He was, of course, referring to his going to Cambridge at the age of eleven. Expressing sorrow at the news of the death of a mutual acquaintance, he declared, "why should we not be looking for as well hastening to the Coming of our Lord to us . . . by Death or Judgment. Oh that we were also ready." Recent troubles with the Indians in Berwick and York also reminded

him that life was tenuous indeed and, repeating the substance of one of his father's recent sermons, he declared that "we have very great reason to fear not the Indians but God even an angry God Judging of us and punishing of us by these briars & thorns of the wilderness" because of contempt for and refusal of God's undeserved and unspeakable gifts. Recalling the bloody horrors of a recent conflict with the Indians, he bemoaned the reluctance of people to remember and to be thankful for deliverance.¹³

Moody attended commencement at Harvard College and received his degree on July 2, 1718. His father and Judge Sewall were both present, and on the following Sunday Samuel Moody preached at Old South Church in the morning, with Solomon Stoddard preaching there in the afternoon.¹⁴ Young Moody no doubt had great expectations for himself. He would surely, he must have thought, follow his father's footsteps, and profit greatly by such prominent associations. He did not know it then, but he would never preach in a Boston pulpit. And even though he would later, in his pride, compare himself favorably with Benjamin Colman and Cotton Mather, Thomas Foxcroft of the prestigious First Church in Boston would one day intervene to object to Moody's preaching in a small church in Mystic near Boston. It would be thirty years before Moody would share the podium with Solomon Stoddard's grandson, Jonathan Edwards.

When Moody returned to York after his graduation from college he had a job waiting for him. He was hired as school-

master, replacing the aged and ailing Master Freeman. In late September he again wrote to Prince complaining of his isolation from his college friends and the difficulties of his lot. Again, as in his previous letter, he expressed the need to hear from friends, and from Prince especially. He found comfort in his schoolmaster's calling, declaring that he and Prince were fellow laborers in Christ's nursery with a great trust committed to them. He rejoiced at the opportunity to form and mold the "tender hearts" of the rising generation according to gracious principles. Schoolmasters, said he, have the opportunity to take a step toward the reformation of our degenerating land by encouraging their pupils to give attention to "the Great concerns of their precious souls." He believed, however, that most schoolmasters were failing their responsibility. "What a sad account," he declared, "will most Schoolmasters have to give up when God shall solemnly demand at their hands the Souls committed unto them." At this stage of his career Moody was still inspired with the idealism of youth and had not yet begun to feel the pressing burden of his own spiritual need.

Care for the souls of his pupils was not the only concern he shared with his friend Prince. In a letter written in November 1718 he complained that he was fast losing his skill in the use of Latin, and hoped that he and Prince might continue their correspondence in that language.¹⁵ We do not know whether Prince replied to this request for this is the last extant letter between them until 1725.¹⁶ The letter, written in Latin, expressed Moody's felt need to retain his

ability to communicate in Latin, and so it anticipates the coded Latin diary he would begin keeping in August 1720, although by then Moody had reasons more compelling than language proficiency for keeping a secret diary. The letter reveals other concerns that were coming to the fore in Moody's mind at the time. In the light of the diary his inquiry as to the state of Prince's soul was not merely a conventional expression of concern but a matter of growing concern to Moody in respect to himself. Certain phrases and expressions in the letter foreshadow his mature perception of his spiritual vocation. "Truly," he wrote to Prince, "if we by some means are able to be of help to another in passage to the heights of heaven, it will be most worthy."

Concern for salvation was indeed emerging as the central consideration for Moody. Within two years, however, it was his own soul rather than the souls of others with which he was most urgently concerned. The explanation for that shift of attention seems to be his coming once again under the powerful influence of his father's preparationist-predestinarian preaching. It is from that perspective that we shall view his diary--as reflecting his father's profound influence on the one hand, and, on the other, his attempt to come to grips with the theology of Thomas Shepard who, with Shepard's father-in-law Thomas Hooker, was New England's tutor in the ways of preparationist theory and practice. Ultimately we shall come to Moody's futile attempts to find a way out of his spiritual dilemma through an increasing number of theological options

becoming available to New England Puritans in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The original manuscript of the Joseph Moody diary is in the Maine Historical Society in Portland, Maine. It is five and three-quarters by three and five-eighths inches in size and 149 pages in length. It is hand-sewn and bound between leather covers. On the front cover one may discern faintly the name "J. Greenleaf." Jonathan Greenleaf acquired the diary while he was pastor in Wells, Maine, sometime between 1814 and 1821,¹⁷ and gave it to William Allen, president of Bowdoin College, who in turn gave it to the Maine Historical Society, of which he was the first president.¹⁸

The text of the diary is in coded Latin, except for a few passages near the end of the diary. Page headings and marginal weather comments, with dates, are in English, for the most part. The code is a symbol substitution for letters of the English alphabet, with occasional abbreviations of proper names. The code of the diary was deciphered by Greenleaf or Allen, apparently, and there is, at the beginning of the diary, a page with the English alphabet and corresponding code symbols. There are also two interlinear transliterations of Moody's code in the text of the diary. Moody's coded alphabet is as follows:

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K | L | M | |
| 7 | L | o | ∫ | √ | θ | 2 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 7 | ^ | e | |
| N | O | P | Q | R | S | T | U | V | W | X | Y | Z | AE |
| o | \ | ∫ | 7 | e | g | L |) | (| X | 8 | 7 | 2 | Y |

The following entry, one of the interlinear transliterations mentioned above, shows Moody's uncertainty about his spiritual state early in the diary (September 11, 1720):

3v906\ 7c\w\fs\ 0>6 63 vsv3s\
 gv s>L7c6 wv wv3>3067wv
 sv007L6g wv6g \8 96 s\ggv

Nescio quomodo fui in edendo / se putavi me
 rinunciare peccatis / meis. Oh si posse.

I know not in what way I have been partaking
 [of communion] but I intended to renounce
 my sins. Oh if I were able to do so.

The Moody diary is one of a small group of New England Puritan diaries that may be analysed in terms of the frequency of the negative self-assessments of the diarist. These include the diaries of Michael Wigglesworth, Thomas Shepard, Jonathan Edwards, and David Brainerd.¹⁹ There are other introspective diaries, including those of Cotton Mather and Nicholas Gilman,²⁰ which do not yield to an analysis of positive or negative self-assessments consistently enough to reveal a pattern and have therefore been excluded from consideration for the purpose of this study. The diaries we have selected appear to have been kept expressly for the purpose of evaluating the state of the diarist's soul on a regular basis. Each of these diarists bears the distinctive marks of preparationist-predestinarian theology. Each recounts one or more spiritual crises in the life of the diarist which reach a peak in the second year of the diary, generally, then decline in three to six years, with an apparent loss of interest in

diary-keeping. There are several other notable Puritan diaries kept over a period of several years, but these diaries are not of an introspective nature.²¹

The Moody diary is unique among New England Puritan diaries in that it is in coded Latin. It is unique also in that the diarist was unable to come to an experience of saving grace. Moody alone among the diarists despaired of his salvation. Why he despaired is the subject of this dissertation, "Diary of the Damned: A Study in Theocentric Anxiety in Pre-Awakening New England."²²

NOTES: CHAPTER I

¹ Hawthorne's first edition of "The Minister's Black Veil" contained the following footnote: "Another clergyman in New England, Mr. Joseph Moody of York, Maine, who died about eighty years since made himself remarkable by the same eccentricity that is here related of the Reverend Mr. Hooper. Early in life he had accidentally killed a beloved friend; and from that day till the hour of his own death, he hid his face from men." See Newton Arvin, ed., Hawthorne's Short Stories (New York, 1957), 10.

² Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Blithedale Romance (Boston, 1852 [first edition]). Although the setting of the novel was the nineteenth century, it reflected Hawthorne's perspective on Puritanism. "Old Moodie" was for Hawthorne a representative figure of a by-gone age. That he still had Joseph Moody in mind twenty years after "The Minister's Black Veil" seems evident from the similarity of names and the patch "Old Moodie" wore over one eye which Hawthorne invested, as he did Hooper's veil, with an aura of mystery.

³ Philip M. Woodwell, Handkerchief Moody: The Diary and the Man (Portland, Maine, 1981 [privately published]). Mr. Woodwell's book is available at the Maine Historical Society, the York Public Library, or from Mr. Woodwell, Beech Ridge Road, York, Maine. References to the Moody diary in this dissertation are based on the present author's decoding and translation of a photocopy of the diary owned by the author.

⁴ Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates 1713-1729, VI (Boston, 1942), 259-261.

⁵ Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England 1610-1763 (New York, 1970), 83.

⁶ Ibid., 88.

⁷ John Pike, Diary, I Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XIV, 147.

⁸ Shipton, Harvard Graduates, 259-261.

⁹ N. Halsey Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, II (New York, 1973), 672.

¹⁰ Ibid., 793.

¹¹ William Kellaway, The New England Company 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians (Westport, Connecticut, 1961), 258. Kellaway's source: Ms 7955/I, no. 37; Ms New England Company Archives in Guildhall Library, London, England.

¹² Joseph Moody to Nathan Prince, June 5, 1718, Nathan Prince Papers, 83, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Thomas, Sewall Diary, II, 897.

¹⁵ Moody to Prince, November 8, 1719, Prince Papers, 84: "Latina lingua mihi iam longe inusitata barbarissime de penna mea cadit; usus autem ut spero me expertiorem reddet & si ut mihi latine referiberas & Communicatio Latina inter nos esset continuata, temporis alicuius lapsu, utrique, procul dubio, promptiores fiemus." -- "The Latin language now long unused by me falls most barbarously from my pen; I hope, moreover, renewed use of it will cause me to become more expert, and if you will reply to be in Latin, and Latin communication may continue between us, I doubt it will be long before we quickly make up what we have lost."

¹⁶ Joseph Moody to Nathan Prince, July 2, 1725, Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

¹⁷ Jonathan Greenleaf, letter, Christian Mirror (Portland, Maine), January 27, 1842, 102: "I found, with a family in [the Upper] parish, a manuscript of Mr. Moody's extending from before his ordination to nearly the close of his life. The greater part of it was written in characters, but with the help of President Allen, I was able to decipher some part. I found many curious things, and many eccentric things savoring of the peculiarly diseased state of his mind, yet mingled with the deepest devotion."

¹⁸ "William Allen, 1784-1868," Dictionary of American Biography, I, 209-210.

¹⁹ Edmund S. Morgan, ed., The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth 1653-1657: The Conscience of a Puritan (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1970); Michael McGiffert, ed., God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography and Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, Massachusetts, 1972); Sereno E. Dwight,

The Life of President Edwards, The Works of President Edwards, I (New York, 1830), 75-106. Jonathan Edwards, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd; Missionary to the Indians on the Borders of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania; Chiefly taken from his own diary (New Haven, Connecticut, 1822). For a comparative analysis of these diaries see Appendix I which contains "A Descriptive Table of Five New England Puritan Diaries" and "A Comparative Index of Negative Self-Assessment for Five New England Puritan Diaries." Appendix II contains "An Index of Negative Self-Assessment, Moody Diary," on a monthly basis from August 1720 to November 1724.

²⁰ Cotton Mather, The Diary of Cotton Mather, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Series, VII-VIII (Boston, Massachusetts, 1911); William Kidder, ed., "The Diary of Nicholas Gilman" (Master of Arts thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1972).

²¹ Ebenezer Parkman, The Diary of Ebenezer Parkman, Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, LXXI; Thomas, Sewall Diary; The Diary of Henry Flynt, Harvard University Archives and Massachusetts Historical Society; Samuel Chandler, Journal, Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

CHAPTER II

THE WOUND OF SIN:

WHAT IT FELT LIKE TO BE A PURITAN UNDER PREPARATION

The religious experience of Joseph Moody was rooted in New England's earliest beginnings, specifically in the preparationist-predestinarian theology of Thomas Shepard. The diary Moody kept from August 1720 through November 10, 1724, reflected, on nearly every page, his preoccupation with the preparation of his soul for salvation. Late in his twentieth year he came face to face with the full implications of the twin doctrines of preparationism and predestination that had informed New England Puritan spirituality for nearly a century. That encounter he detailed in his diary for fifty-two long months, during which he faithfully tried to follow the rigorous discipline of the master of preparationism himself--Thomas Shepard--reading diligently from Shepard's published works. We have in the Moody diary an ongoing description of what it felt like for an individual to go through an extended period of preparation--which makes the diary unusual if not unique as a source for New England Puritan experience. It is the only documentation of an individual's persisting conviction that he was among the damned.

One might suppose that if, as others have written, Shepard had made it easy for men to find the way to sal-

vation, Moody surely would have found it. Instead, he became increasingly discouraged with his prospects, finally despairing of the preparationist way and turning to alternative ways of salvation from the growing number of theological alternatives being introduced into New England by the importation of books and alien ideas that carried the tares of liberalism being sown in the wheat fields--in the hearts and minds--of New England's latter-day Puritans.

Moody read only Shepard's published works, of course, but how closely his experience paralleled that of Shepard himself becomes startlingly clear when we compare the now published private writings of these two men--nearly a hundred years apart. Moody had drunk from the fountain of preparationism. During his boyhood and youth he had sat under the able preaching of his father, Samuel Moody, an ardent preparationist. In early manhood he applied himself diligently to a study of Shepard's works. His diary shows us clearly that he knew what preparationism was, and what a man should feel when wrestling with his sins. Like Shepard, who confessed in his own journal that he saw himself incurable because of sin¹--albeit he never confessed it before his congregation or in his published writings--Moody saw himself as lost and condemned. Like Shepard, who complained that the wound in his soul was because he had not been properly bruised, wounded or broken before God for his sins,² Moody also bemoaned his insensibility to his own sins.

The wound of sin in preparation, said Shepard, was in the separating of the soul from God.³ Only after the soul experiences a radical separation from God, said Shepard, can the soul possibly be brought back to God by saving faith. The soul must first be made conscious of its loss of God by a sense of sin, and then under great stress the soul must feel death. It must feel misery of being separated from Christ and under the power of original sin. It must experience a feeling of blindness, hardness, contempt of Christ, heartlessness, and unbelief. In this despairing, futile state the soul feels the enormity of its distance from God because of sin. Shepard saw the process of preparation as analogous to man's turning from God in the fall of Adam and his restoration by grace of Christ after many trials.⁴

A word of caution is in order at this point. A case can be made for Shepard's distrust of feeling as a ground of faith. This must not, however, be confused with what he said with regard to feeling the burden of sin. In regard to faith he declared, "And then I saw how great a sin it was to make feeling the ground and cause of my faith, and I also thought how exceedingly I should honor Jesus Christ if I did believe before I felt."⁵ Although the believer could not make his feeling of well-being and hope the basis of his assurance, the sinner still in preparation must rely on his feelings to give him a sense of sin and hopelessness.

The wound of sin was to be felt, according to Shepard

and only through the painful experience of being wounded and utterly alienated from God could the soul be brought to long for the grace it had so far been denied. But, according to Shepard's scheme, the depths of humiliation were so great that the soul must despair of the grace it sought, and then become content with its fate and praise God for His justice in damning the lost soul. These were perilous depths indeed and how many souls gave up the struggle and sank into the Slough of Despond cannot be conjectured. But we know that Moody was one of these and that his diary is the best account of such an experience. His allegiance to Shepard's system brought him to despair of his salvation, and only then, in desperation, did he cast about for other possible ways to come to saving faith. These also failed him--so deeply had the wound of sin cut into his soul--and he was at last left desolute of hope, and at the height of his career was stricken with a melancholy state that undermined his physical and mental health for nearly a decade.

What then was Puritanism? What did New England Puritans really believe about themselves, God, sin and salvation? Were they not, after all, as confident of salvation as we have supposed? Was the means of grace a way to salvation--or was it rather a means of exposing the darkness and sinfulness of the heart? If a man must believe himself to be damned before he could be saved, where was man's claim upon God's promise of grace to the believer? Moody stands before us in his diary

and in his life as one in whose experience lies the answer to the riddle, a key piece in the puzzle of New England Puritanism with its varied and often confusing patterns. How Moody felt about himself in the process of his soul's preparation provides a valuable clue to a new and deeper understanding of New England's religious development in the decades before the Great Awakening.

Moody's importance for us lies not in his teaching school, not in his ministry and preaching, not in his clerking for the town of York, or in his rise to prominence in county affairs. Rather he is important because in him many of the intellectual currents of New England in the early eighteenth century can be discerned. As a boy he was under the tutelage of a stern, zealous Puritan father--the Reverend Samuel Moody. He studied at Harvard in the second decade of the century and sat listening to the Reverend William Brattle, pastor of Shepard's old church in Cambridge, a moderate among the ministers of New England. Returning to York in 1718, he was once again confronted with the hard-line preparationist preaching of his father. He soon found himself wrestling with himself and with the seers of New England, notably Thomas Shepard, seeking signs of his salvation, ultimately concluding against himself that, in Shepard's terms, damnation was his eternal destiny. It was for this phase of his life that we have his diary--the diary of the damned. Finding no grounds for hope in Shepard's preparationism, he gradually turned away from Shepard and sought other paths to

salvation, all those available to him in the limited world of New England. Our problem is to reconcile the course of Moody's pilgrimage with what we think we know of New England Puritanism.

Perry Miller, to whom we owe a debt of scholarly gratitude for his masterful "rehabilitation of the Puritans," has shaped the interpretation of New England Puritanism for over a generation.⁶ It seems reasonable to expect that if Miller's exegesis of Puritan doctrine--specifically that on preparation and the covenant--is sound, a primary document of the religious experience of an individual New England Puritan standing within the traditional, orthodox mold and having been markedly influenced by the preparationist writings of Shepard should bear out and validate Miller's thesis. Similarly, if Miller is correct about Arminianism being implicit in New England Puritanism, Moody's own excursion into Arminianism should show signs of emanating from the internal world of New England. It is this sort of testing of generally accepted tenants as to Puritanism that Moody, his diary, and his career allow.

Miller held that New England Puritans modified Calvinist theology by their innovative introduction of covenant theology and by their attribution of natural ability to the human response to the use of the means of grace. According to Miller, the basis of the Puritan theory and experience of conversion was the concept of a covenant of grace in which both God and man were bound by a mutual contract resting on

the grace of God and man's exercise of faith in response to it. God, according to Miller's version of Puritan thought, had given man grace to fulfill his side of the bargain, and if he--man--pledged to accept the covenant by faith, "God then must redeem him and glorify him."⁷ Miller failed to recognize, however, that what he thought was a Puritan innovation or improvement upon primitive Calvinism was, in fact, the core of Calvin's pastoral and pedagogical methodology. What Miller saw in Puritanism as a concession to human ability and a subtle introduction of the Arminian doctrine of free will was, for all the rhetorical extravagance of Puritan preachers, consistent with Calvin's principle of accommodation.⁸

Keeping in mind Miller's assumptions concerning the nature of the Puritan conception of grace, covenant theology, and the experience of conversion and salvation, we ask whether Moody's religious experience was consistent with Miller's model of Puritan experience. We will find that it was not. Moody followed the rigorous preparationist discipline faithfully for a number of years until he found it necessary to conclude--as it seemed apparent to him very early in the diary--that there was no hope for him from that perspective. Only then did he entertain seriously the Arminian alternative to the preparationist-predestinarian theology on which he had been nurtured from childhood and through which he had earnestly sought to make his salvation sure during the diary years.

Moody did not find a "faire and easie way to heaven" through preparation--the pragmatic strategy of the use of preparation as a means of grace, according to Miller--nor did he find that covenant theology gave him leverage by which to bargain with God. Despairing of his inability to do anything for himself or to find saving faith by an act of will--for he surely willed to be saved, but to no avail--he began casting about for an alternative to the preparationist-predestinarian theology on which he had rested so much hope. The "diary of the damned" is Moody's record of his pilgrimage through preparationism and beyond to a failure to attain salvation, forcing him back to the foreboding conclusions he had drawn from his experience during the diary years. We propose, in this study, to recover and describe the nature and intensity of Moody's religious experience and to offer it as a model of the experience of those New England Puritans who took Shepard's preparationism seriously.

Baird Tipson, in an article entitled, "How Can the Religious Experience of the Past Be Recovered? The Examples of Puritanism and Pietism,"⁹ raises some important considerations for the sort of analysis necessary if we are to recover the significance of the individual religious experience set forth in the Moody diary. Tipson calls attention to the challenges of "scientifically" recovering the religion of the past, and of exploring and explaining the religiosity of persons who have left only fragmentary and ambiguous accounts of their experience. Academic historians, he says, have been

far more successful in recovering the actions and even thoughts of individuals than they have been in recovering particular experiences. He suggests that it was the individual's understanding of his experience rather than the experience itself that should concern the historian, arguing that this is the point at which the historian should start. The "vast majority of literate Christians" in the past understood their experience along the lines suggested by "officially sanctioned theories of experience," Tipson wrote. "They made sense of their experience in the categories they had at their disposal."¹⁰

There is no doubt, given the extensive and frequent references to preparationist theory in the theological and homiletical literature of the first hundred years of New England history, that preparationism was one of the major "officially sanctioned theories of experience." The question, then, is whether New Englanders understood their experience as Miller said they did. Did the individual use the "means of grace" to "persuade" God to number him among the redeemed?

Tipson suggests that the historian should attempt to isolate what religious experience in a specific time frame should feel like and then use this theoretical basis to examine the sources to try to discern what it did feel like. What it should feel like, on the basis of Miller's interpretation, can be quite readily conjectured.

The individual in quest of salvation should experience a growing confidence that God would do something for him if

he persisted in his diligent pursuit of the means of grace. He should have a growing awareness of his own capacity for discerning the motions of the Holy Spirit on his behalf. The individual should experience an increasingly cooperative frame of mind toward God, and should experience less anxiety about the final outcome of his search for salvation. Again, this seems a fair statement of what it should have felt like to have sought salvation through the process of preparation, by Miller's standard.

But what did it feel like to Moody? What did he experience and "feel" as he read Shepard on preparation? How did he understand his experience? We shall see, in the course of this study, that Moody's experience did not fit the model suggested by Miller, and that Moody did not understand his experience of preparation in terms of Miller's interpretation of it.

There is, of course, a possibility that Moody's religious experience was unique in relation to preparationist theory. The singularity of the Moody diary as documentation of the struggles of an "unconverted" soul--Moody was the only religiously introspective diarist to conclude that he was "damned"--may seem at first glance to point in that direction. But Moody was not unique in the light of what he read, how he reacted to what he read, and how he reflected upon the events and experiences of his daily life. There does not seem to have been anything in Moody's external or internal history that might have set him apart either intellectually or spirit-

ually from his contemporaries, unless it was a more than ordinary conscientious and persistent effort to do what he thought was expected of him. He was the only son of an able and dogmatic pastor who was deeply committed to the proclamation of preparationist-predestinarian theology. He was a Harvard graduate, but not, apparently, well suited for the ministry. Although he preached often and performed pastoral duties long before he was ordained, his vocational interests in early manhood lay in the direction of public service. He was inclined to be tolerant and sympathetic toward others, in marked contrast to his father, yet he was generally orthodox and "evangelical" in his opinions. He was secretive and sensitive, and at the same time gregarious and congenial. He was inquisitive regarding nature, people, and events. He was often critical of what he heard and read and although he sought to find logical explanations for the inner events of his mind and heart, he often became emotional in his reflections on Christian doctrines.

In none of this does Moody appear "abnormal." His conviction that he was irretrievably lost and damned--and the feelings that this conviction stirred within him--was based, so he believed, on unmistakable marks and signs of God's having abandoned him. Other Puritan introspective diarists had similar experiences, and apparently similar feelings about their lost condition, but these in due time came to a degree of assurance that they were or had become regenerate. The Moody diary simply reveals the far end of the spectrum of re-

ligious experience where an individual failed to win through to an assurance of salvation. The Moody diary, however, reveals more clearly than other introspective diaries of the period the nature of the experience of preparation as it was understood and felt by the individual going through it.

The real issue for the New England Puritan, despite a vast and often convoluted body of theological and homiletical rhetoric, was his subjective religious experience. How he felt about the state of his soul and about his relationship to God was often taken as a mark or sign of his spiritual progress or state of grace. And this was true even though Shepard and other theologians and preachers warned against reliance on one's feelings. Miller has rightly described Puritan religiosity as an "Augustinian strain of piety." Krister Stendahl has shown that "the introspective conscience of the West" was derived from Augustine rather than from the Apostle Paul.¹¹ The question as to how a preoccupation with one's subjective state entered into the mainstream of Puritan thought and experience is not important at this point except by way of noting that it was not a necessary consequence of Puritan reliance on scripture, which is quite devoid of the subjective and introspective concerns that fill Puritan literature.¹²

There is one aspect of Puritan subjectivism, however, that requires definition in terms of its nature and origin. This we shall label "theocentric anxiety." Anxiety differs from fear in that fear has a tangible, and often visible, ob-

ject. Anxiety has no tangible object, and it frequently arises within the mind itself without the presence of external stimulus. According to our definition, the source of "theocentric anxiety" lies in the belief system of the individual, in this case in what the individual believes about his relationship to God as determined by God's decree prior to any moral action on the part of the individual. We distinguish theocentric anxiety from religious anxiety. The latter is the result of the individual's concern that his moral efforts, acts of devotion, and inner state may not be acceptable to the deity because of some failure or fault within himself; the former results from the individual's concern that, in spite of his moral efforts, acts of devotion, and inner state, the deity may nevertheless reject him and ultimately cast him into outer darkness.

Theocentric anxiety grows out of one's sense of the awesome majesty of God, the sense of God's being the "holy," and the wholly, "other."¹³ It rests on the conviction of man's utter incapacity to help his own cause in the matter of salvation, whereas religious anxiety rests on the assumption that man is capable of some degree of cooperation with God. Religious anxiety, which by this definition has a close affinity to the Arminian point of view, is rooted in a person's uncertainty as to whether he, or she, has "done his part" in meeting God's requirements. Theocentric anxiety is rooted in a belief in the doctrine of predestination, by which the individual's destiny has been determined prior to his exist-

ence and quite apart from consideration of any moral action or desire on his part.

The immediate and practical effect of theocentric anxiety is the shock that comes to a person who, in seeking faith and reconciliation to God, becomes aware that God may not have predestined him for salvation after all, but may have consigned him to perdition before the world was made (or, if he is a sublapsarian, after Adam transgressed). Theocentric anxiety, as experienced among Puritans of old and New England, usually arose after a protracted period of preparation for grace, the expected experience of which was indefinitely deferred, and after the individual had been forced by circumstance to acknowledge that there were no inward or outward signs of grace in his life and that in all probability there never would be any.¹⁴ When the anticipated conversion did not take place the individual troubled by theocentric anxiety often became morbidly preoccupied by thoughts of dying without redemption. In this state, he was driven to despair of salvation or to a sublimation of anxiety by a growing indifference to religious concerns.

The preparationism propounded by Shepard required that the soul be driven to despair of salvation before grace was bestowed. The experience of "humiliation," as Shepard called it, involved an acceptance of the probability that one was to be damned. Furthermore, the individual was expected to be content with being damned.¹⁵ In coming to grips with the rigorous discipline of preparation, the individual moved from

a hopeful expectation of his eventual conversion, through growing uncertainty, to a state of despair. Shepard and the preparationists did not, however intend the humbled soul to remain in a state of despair for long. Those who followed the normal course of preparation, as Shepard conceived it, were expected to move quickly through and beyond despair to a complete surrender to God's will. Becoming content with being damned was supposed to open the heart so that the Holy Spirit could effectually do its work of bestowing saving grace. Theocentric anxiety, as we have called this sort of despair as Puritan preparationists experienced it, was not intended to be a permanent state--just one fleeting, horrifying glimpse over the edge of the abyss. Theocentric anxiety could, however, go wrong, aborting the conversion experience--as it did in Moody's case.

Preparation was a dangerous game. There was no way of making sure that a person who had come to the brink of despair in the humiliation stage of preparation would then become content to be damned. Giles Firmin's point against Shepard was well taken: Shepard required more "grace" in an unregenerate man's being content to be damned than could be attained by a regenerate man (for whom such an act of resignation would be superfluous).¹⁶ Preparation was dangerous, moreover, because it provided for no clear distinction between the experiences of unregenerate souls and converted men. The person who had been converted was expected to make use of the means of grace in much the same way he had before

conversion. And preparation was dangerous because it made the gospel serve the function of the law, that is, to serve as a means of judgment and condemnation of sinful men. In Christian thought and experience generally, divine grace has been regarded as the source and means of salvation, while the law has been regarded as the symbol and instrument of God's judgment upon sin. Shepard's preparationism introduced the antithetical functions of the law into his concept of grace confounding the conscientious soul's quest for religious assurance and driving many an earnest soul to frustration and despair.

Shepard's "morphology of conversion" may quite readily be translated into feeling: Conviction for sin is to feel the terror and judgment of the law; compunction is to feel the shame of one's sins before a holy God and to grieve for one's sins, not because one is afraid of the consequences of one's sins, but because God is grieved by them; and humiliation is to feel utter worthlessness and a sense of complete spiritual nakedness. To be truly humbled is to be glad that God has brought one to the dust, to see one's sin, and to be content to die and to go to judgment without hope. This is what Shepard meant when he said that one ought to come to Christ empty.¹⁷ But Shepard never said what saving faith was to feel like, when the sinner had passed through humiliation to grace, from death to life.¹⁸

Shepard, and those who followed his preparationist model, felt chronic anxiety concerning the state of their souls long

after the first conversion experience. (Notably, Shepard and other preparationists spoke also of their "second" conversion.) They often spoke of closing with Christ, but they never truly described it as a definitive act. For preparation was intended to be a continuing process, beginning before and extending after conversion. Hence Shepard could insist upon the necessity of the experience of saving grace while nowhere setting forth what the believer was to experience by way of assurance after regeneration.

In spite of his subjectivism Shepard was still within the Calvinist camp relative to what could or could not be expected of God. When Shepard made despair do the office of delight, ground in assurance on anxiety itself, making doubt the basis of affirmation,¹⁹ he was never closer to Calvin, although Calvin would not have approved of Shepard's off and on attitude toward God's objective promises or of his preparationist methodology. Calvin recognized the role of doubt and anxiety and its importance in the experience of the believer. But because the believer was among the elect by virtue of predestination, his inner struggle would ultimately be resolved by assurance of his salvation on the basis of the promises of the Word. The person who underwent such a struggle did not know for certain at the time that his inner turmoil would be resolved by assurance of salvation. Calvin would have the elect saint discover the basis of his assurance in scripture. Shepard would simply have him discover it through

the subjective experience of humiliation. Yet Calvin and Shepard encouraged doubt and anxiety as an antidote to presumption.

There is no basis for conjecturing, as Miller did, that Puritans generally believed that it was possible for men to come to terms with God on a conditional agreement. The doctrine of predestination was too deeply entrenched in the minds of most Puritans for such a concession to be made. The internal covenant of grace was for the elect, and for them alone. There is simply no evidence of a Puritan understanding of the experience of conversion and regeneration that Miller's hypothesis called for.²⁰

Theocentric anxiety, rather than a hopeful assumption about human capacity, was central to Puritan experience. Like the doctrine of predestination, with which it closely associated, theocentric anxiety has antecedents in biblical, medieval, and Reformation theology. B. A. Gerrish has pointed out, in reference to Reformation theology, that predestination was the basis of anxiety concerning the destiny of one's soul. According to Reformation theology, God alone, in his secret wisdom, had already made the decision that seemed to men still an open question. Consequently, there was for Luther "terror in his encounter with the hidden, predestinating God and . . . the emotional, religious, or spiritual content of the experience burst the limits of the merely rational and conceptual."²² Luther recognized and testified to the shattering experience of his encounter with the divine,

which "brought him right up to the rim of the abyss, where the Naked and Unknown God waited and threatened."²³ Gerrish contends that, in the context of Reformation theology, questions raised for the believer were not overcome by faith for "there is an unresolved dialectic in Reformation faith corresponding to a dialectic in the conception of God." One could not be certain of the outcome of one's faith because the true, absolute, nature of God was obscure to man. For both Luther and Calvin "this God reveals himself precisely in the experience of forsakenness and despair, that is, in Christ as der Angefochtene, the archetype of man assailed by sin, death, and hell."²⁴

For Calvin, theocentric anxiety played an important role in the life of the believer. For him, as for Shepard, it was necessary for one to experience profound despair before one's faith could be validated. Calvin, however, was describing the experience of the individual who was already a believer, already regenerate, rather than the experience of a soul in preparation for grace.

Surely, while we teach that faith ought to be certain and assured, we cannot imagine any certainty that is not tinged with doubt, or any assurance that is not assailed by some anxiety. On the other hand, we say that believers are in perpetual conflict with their own unbelief. Far, indeed, are we from putting their consciences in any peaceful repose, undisturbed by any tumult at all . . .

Calvin pointed to David who, in the Psalms, complained bitterly and often about his own unbelief:

In despair he condemns himself to death, and not only confesses himself to be troubled with doubt, but, as if he had fallen in the struggle, he feels that there is nothing left to him. For God has forsaken him, and has turned his hand, which was once his help, to his destruction.²⁵

This was no mere contrition for past sins. It was an experience of ultimate horror, of utter lostness, from which even Christ Himself was not immune:

And surely no more terrible abyss can be conceived than to feel yourself forsaken and estranged from God; and when you call upon him, not to be heard. It is as if God himself had plotted your ruin. We see that Christ was so cast down as to be compelled to cry out in deep anguish: My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?²⁶

For Calvin, as for Luther, the solution to the dilemma of anxiety was assurance of one's election, even though not even that would bring the believer to a state of complete inner peace. One's inner or subjective state was not of great concern to either Luther or Calvin, however. Certainty or assurance, in the qualified sense of the Reformers, depended on one's reliance on the Word, not on one's experience of faith, conversion, or regeneration. Shepard and the New England preparationists emphasized that one must have saving grace before the Word would apply to one's case. The state of one's soul was the central concern of preparationist theory and practice. That concern did not rest, however, on the ability of the individual to respond to God, but upon whether God had bestowed or would bestow His grace. Preparation consisted largely in a search for signs or marks of grace and, ominously, a fearful inquiry whether the signs and marks of reprobation were evident.

In this respect the New England preparationists, rather than departing from the Reformed tradition in favor of human capacity, carried the idea of human inability to the extreme by declaring that no human effort or even the objective pro-

mises of the Word could assure one that he might at length come to grace. The critical indication that the preparationists had gone beyond Calvin and the Reformed tradition is seen in Shepard's insistence that the humbled soul must become content with being damned before grace would be bestowed. In theory, the one who was unable to be humbled in this manner and to be content with his fate was presumed not to be among the elect. Shepard's preparationism was solidly rooted in the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, but his doctrine of marks and signs, with its subjective emphasis, was a clear departure from the practice of Calvin and the continental Calvinism. The beginnings of the movement toward subjectivism in Puritan theology and practice are evident in the writings of William Perkins, an English Puritan divine.²⁷ But neither Perkins nor the English and American preparationists who looked to him for instruction in matters of conscience ceased to be Calvinists. They made no concessions to the Arminian doctrine of human ability, such as Miller claimed they did. If a man could have bargained with God for his salvation, if unregenerate man could have forced God's hand and chained him to his own covenant, there would have been no theocentric anxiety among New England Puritans. The presence of theocentric anxiety reveals that New England Puritans, regenerate and unregenerate, understood that their salvation rested entirely with God's inscrutable will, hidden behind His eternal decrees, and not with themselves. The Moody diary is a painfilled but eloquent witness to that fact.

NOTES: CHAPTER II

¹ Michael McGiffert, ed., God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography and Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, Massachusetts, 1972), 83, Journal, December 16, 1640.

² Ibid., 234, Journal, February 25, 1644.

³ Ibid., 188, Journal, September 3, 1642.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 94, April 2 and 3, 1640.

⁶ Miller's influence on American Puritan studies began with the publication of his essay, "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity," Publications, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, February, 1935. This essay was republished in Miller's Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, 1956). In 1939, he published The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1939). It is with these works, among the many he wrote, that we are most concerned.

⁷ Miller, Errand, 62.

⁸ Ford Lewis Battles, "God was Accommodating Himself to Human Capacity," Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology XXXI (1977), 19-38.

⁹ Baird Tipson, "How Can the Religious Experience of the Past Be Recovered? The Examples of Puritanism and Pietism," American Academy of Religion (Journal of) XLIII (1975), 695-707.

¹⁰ Ibid., 696.

¹¹ Krister Stendhal, "The Apostle Paul and the Intropective Conscience of the West," Harvard Theological Review V (1963), 199-215.

¹² For Miller's misreading of the Puritan use of scripture, see John S. Coolidge, The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible (Oxford, 1970), 151, in which he discusses the Puritan use of scripture in depth and concludes,

contrary to Miller's attribution to Puritanism of a "stark biblical literalism," that Puritans, in fact, held a "dynamic view of scripture through which they recognized the complexities and difficulties of applying scriptural categories to their situation. That they were not biblical literalists in no way lessened their commitment to what they perceived to be scriptural principles. That they substituted "a religion of 'religious experience'," as Coolidge terms it, for Paul's theology of grace does not mean that they were less faithful to the tenets of Calvin, or that they departed radically from Reformed theology. They tried to reconcile the Bible and human experience as they understood it. The result was a preoccupation with subjective aspects of religious faith at the expense of and objective understanding of the promises of the Word, but that does not mean, as Miller argued, that Puritans either shifted away from a biblical basis or altered the Reformed view of the nature of man.

¹³ Rudolph Otto, The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry Into the Non-Rational factor in the idea of the divine and its relation to the rational (London, 1950). See especially chapter 5.

¹⁴ For an early example and recognition of this phenomenon, see David Brainerd's "Desponding Thoughts of a Soul under Convictions of Sin," in Jonathan Edwards, Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd; Missionary to the Indians on the Borders of New York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania; Chiefly taken from his own diary (New Haven, 1822). Seven of the twelve "Desponding Thoughts" are strikingly similar to Moody's negative self-assessments.

¹⁵ For an example of this, see Edmund S. Morgan, ed., The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth 1653-1657, The Conscience of a Puritan (Gloucester, Mass., 1970), 15. "I thought that if God would not save me at last, yet there was something that pleased me in this, that my Lord should have glory in my damnation." Wigglesworth, a contemporary of Shepard, was greatly influenced by him, and practiced a particularly vigorous form of preparation.

¹⁶ Giles Firmin, The Real Christian or a Treatise on Effectual Calling (Boston, 1742), 18.

¹⁷ McGiffert, ed., God's Plot, 139, "When I was most empty, then by faith I was most full."

¹⁸ Ibid., 24: "Shepard nowhere develops a formal psychology of the emotions, and his record of his own fluctuating feelings is anything but intellectually strict."

19 Ibid., 20.

20 Miller, Errand, 63. Miller quoted John Preston, an English Puritan divine, to the effect that God had bound Himself by a covenant and was not "at liberty anymore." Miller also cited Richard Sibbes and John Cotton, as well as Shepard, to argue that because Puritans saw God as "no longer harsh and cruel, but full of compassion, they presumed, according to Miller, that men might require God to bestow His salvation upon them. But in Puritan theology, God was "bound" to men only by virtue of His eternal election of them, not by what they might do or demand.

21 The Old Testament book of Job best illustrates this form of existential dread, especially Job 4.12-21. A comparison of Psalm 22.1-21 and Matthew 27.45, 46 and Mark 15.33, 34 shows that an early New Testament source linked an Old Testament allusion to the righteous being forsaken by God to the central event of the life of Jesus. For an introduction to the idea in the context of medieval theology, see Heiko Oberman, The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1967), especially pages 185-206 and 224-235. B. A. Gerrish, "'To the Unknown God' Luther and Calvin on the Hiddenness of God," Journal of Religion LIII (1973), 263-292, has contributed much to my understanding of the Reformation tradition of "theocentric anxiety."

22 Gerrish, "'To the Unknown God'," Journal of Rel. LIII, 275.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., 290.

25 John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, edited by John T. McNeill and translated by Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia, 1960), III.ii.17.

26 Ibid., II.xvi.11.

27 William Perkins, A Case of Conscience, the Greatest That Ever Was; How a Man May Know Whether He Be a Childe of God, or No (London, 1595).

CHAPTER III

THE MAN IN THE PULPIT AND THE BOY IN THE PEW

The young man, twenty-three years of age, struggled vainly with a paper kite on the windswept embankment of the tidal channel that led to the river and the open sea. The wind whipped the kite about skittishly, teasing it skyward only to spin it again and again into the damp snow. At length the young man gathered up his fragile kite and its ball of string and made his way up the embankment to the nearby house that had been his boyhood home, the parsonage of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Moody of York.

That evening Joseph Moody paused thoughtfully as he made the daily entry in his diary. Then, with deliberate intensity, he penned a small secret that was to remain hidden behind its coded text for 250 years. That secret was the burden of young Moody's life, the message of God in a lifeless kite, the struggle of an unborn soul seeking to rise from the deadness and despair of an unsanctified existence to a life of faith. A feeling of guilt, a pallor of anxiety, cast a shadow across his mind like the scudding clouds that darkened the landscape of the blustery, frigid world outside. "My kite hardly flew. Thus does God frequently bring to naught the boasting of my heart over its own idols."¹

Why should a young man, so vital and dynamic in every other respect, hold so melancholy a view of such a casual matter as the refusal of a paper kite to fly on a windy day?

That question, rephrased, is the subject of this dissertation: Why Joseph Moody, the only son of one of New England's most forceful ministers, regarded himself as in mortal danger of being irretrievably lost and damned. Here was a youth, half man, half boy, simply yet profoundly searching his heart and life for signs of his election to salvation, and despairing because for him there were no evident signs of grace. He was, after all, merely asking the questions about himself and his relationship to God that four generations of devout New Englanders had asked, trying to prepare his heart for the grace that God might one day bestow upon him, following strictly the rules of a rigorous preparationist discipline that had been expounded from the pulpits of several hundred New England churches for nearly a century. But Moody consistently failed. As we shall see, assurances of salvation escaped him. He considered himself to be--if we are to believe his diary--among the damned. In truth, however, he was a victim of what was undoubtedly a common ailment of New England, what is termed here "theocentric anxiety," a sense of dread--indeed, a fixed conviction--that despite one's best moral and spiritual efforts, a predestinating God had determined from all eternity that the soul should be reprobate. The "diary of the damned" is, then, a record of that failure which Moody faithfully documented throughout a lonely solitude with his stricken conscience for four long years of early manhood.

Joseph Moody first learned of God from--and his anxiety was first awakened by--his father. It is, then, with the

father, Samuel Moody, that we must begin, particularly with his father's sermons designed for children. One thing is immediately in evidence. The vivid imagery of desolate souls, the agonies of the damned, the uncertainty of salvation--all these were more prominent in the sermons of Samuel Moody than were images of hope and the joy of heaven. And these images were translated by Samuel Moody's powerful rhetoric into transcendent messages of divine admonition--the preacher's gift to his son, a gift that became an irrepressible burden.

Father Moody's preaching fell within a New England tradition three quarters of a century old. He was a preparationist and enunciated doctrine which can be traced back to Thomas Shepard of the First Church in Cambridge. Shepard proclaimed that men must go through a protracted period of preparation and feel the fear and terror of the damned before they were saved--if, indeed, they were to be saved at all. For it was not the effort of preparation that saved the soul but the absolute, eternal decree of Almighty God. This rigorous theology was Joseph Moody's inheritance.

The first of Samuel Moody's sermons for children to be considered was preached at Joseph's school on July 25, 1721. The sermon clearly made a strong impact on the younger Moody, for he took extensive verbatim notes during its course and nearly 30 years later published it under his father's name.²

The published version of the sermon reads very much like an extemporaneous exhortation to a group of children. It is colloquial in expression and has little in the nature

of formal structure, quite unlike the sermons published by Samuel Moody himself. The latter show a clear pattern of logical and homiletical development and were obviously given editorial attention before going to the printer. The 1721 sermon gives no hint that it was being addressed to a larger audience than the group of children of Moody's school. At several points the flow of thought is disjointed and there are a number of non-sequiturs. The explanation seems to be that Moody, in attempting to record his father's sermon verbatim, did a fair job of capturing the elder Moody's informal preaching style, but that he lost his way here and there in his father's rambling exhortation and let it stand as he had recorded it, unedited, in the published edition.

Moody based his sermon on Mark 9:36-37, in which Jesus set a child in the midst of his disciples and, upon taking the child in his arms, declared that to receive a child in his name was to receive him, and to receive him was to receive the Father. Moody's picture of Jesus was of one who paid special attention to children, noticing them, watching them, loving them if they were good. Christ takes notice of all little children, Moody declared, and of their every action and thought. Christ is first of all mindful of how children are affected by sermons, and especially of those who "are so wicked as to play, while they should be hearing." Good behavior at home and dutiful obedience to parents is essential. Christ is mindful of every conversation of children out of doors, especially on the way to school.

Moody's expectation for good children was that they should spend Saturday evenings reciting their catechisms and preparing for Sabbath day morning. He expected them to go apart and read and think and pray, "& not to be idle or play, which is worse." The younger Moody's diary entries concerning his own times of idleness and recreation take on added significance in the light of these comments by his father.

Moody reminded his young hearers that, according to Malachi 3:16, the Lord keeps a record of "all that you say, and do, and think." For the younger Moody and others, the keeping of spiritual diaries may well have been an attempt to approximate the divine record-keeping in order that the diarist might be able to discern the Lord's judgments before its time. The younger Moody's diary-keeping apparently had that as a goal, and it may have been inspired by Samuel Moody's insistence on the finality of the divine journal.

God, of course, does not receive his information at second hand. Quoting Psalm 139 at length, Moody reinforced the point that God is ever and everywhere present, and that his gaze is inescapable.³ God is also not limited by time, for "He knew a thousand years ago, what you would be thinking now." Furthermore, "He sees all the sins, that you commit in secret, and sets them all down." But he also records good thoughts, words, and actions and will never blot them out. Moody was not above holding out hope for boys and girls who made an effort to be good. Good deeds are worthy of God's attention. "There's room enough in his book, to set down all the good

things done by you." But Moody was far from announcing that children could be saved by their own efforts. What he meant by this word of encouragement must be understood in the context of his total message.

"Some of you," Moody told them, "love to get alone among the bushes to pray." Did Moody know that they did this, or was he merely encouraging them to do so? It seems apparent that Moody was referring to his own observations. Parenthetically it seems unlikely that a man so familiar with the habits of his young parishioners would average the "thirteen hours a day in his study" attributed to Jonathan Edwards by Perry Miller.⁴ "And you did not think it may be," Moody continued, "that Christ see you; but he did." "Christ can say, I saw you John, you Sarah, or whatever your name is." Moody was not reluctant to identify himself with the all-seeing Christ. "I tell you so in his name, and that's all one as if he told you so." How often did a Puritan preacher declare that his voice was the voice of God to his hearers? But that is precisely what Moody did on this occasion, or rather, that is what the younger Moody heard his father say, and so recorded. If Moody could claim to speak as Christ, he could also claim to see in secret, as Christ saw in secret.⁵ No doubt more than one child in Moody's York believed that he could.

Christ has appointed an under-shepherd, Moody told them, to keep the sheep. Their parents are the sheep and they are the lambs, and the devil is the wolf "that goes to carry you away by his temptations." Christ is, of course,

the good shepherd, and he will by his presence frighten the wolf-devil away. But nevertheless even lambs will one day be brought to judgment. Christ, who is the good and kindly shepherd, is also the judge. Christ's judgment at the last day will be based on his knowledge of "the thoughts, words, and actions of all." How could God, Moody asked, "sentence wicked children to hell, and good children to heaven, if he had not taken notice of them all along their lives?" From warnings of judgment to come (Ecclesiastes 12:14) Moody derived the necessity of their being dutiful children, and duty meant in Moody's terms, obedience to parents and avoidance of secret sins. "Don't dare do anything alone that is bad any more than you would do here, when we are all looking at you." The marks of good children are that "they are afraid to sin alone, and in the dark, as much as if everybody were looking upon them." Good children are also careful what they speak and think, and "T'is the fear of God that keeps them from evil."

Moody's didactic strategy went beyond merely reinforcing mental images of Christ as shepherd and judge. He was laying the foundation for an "introspective conscience" in each of his young auditors, and an introspective conscience was requisite to theocentric anxiety. Moody's discourse makes clear his reliance on preparationist doctrine, specifically minister Thomas Shepard's third stage of preparation, the experience of humiliation, in which the soul deems itself without grace and in a lost condition. Wicked children, according to Moody, simply could not experience an awareness of being with-

out grace. Only "good children" could be "afraid sometimes, that they have no grace; they think their hearts are so wicked that there can't be any grace there. These words are clearly reminiscent of Shepard's dictum that "the greatest part of Christian grace lies in mourning for the want of it."⁶

The central motif of preparation for Shepard was not the redemptive process, but the experience of humiliation which preceded true faith. For Moody, as for Shepard, in order to be saved one must first despair of salvation. The ultimate concern of the introspective conscience is the death of the individual. Good children, according to Moody, ought to be preoccupied with thoughts of death and with concern for the eternal destiny of dead parents and brothers and sisters, with "where they are now." Wicked children have no such concerns. Good children, like wicked children, also play, "and there is no hurt in it," but they often think of Christ while they are playing. Every conscious moment was, for Moody's young parishioners, to be devoted to reflection upon Christ, the coming judgment, and the attainment of salvation. This was the essential difference between "good" children and "wicked" children.

Moody's answer to the question why Christ loves good children was that the Father gave them to Christ. This was a "children's edition" of the doctrine of predestination. Christ also loves good children, Moody declared, because they are so few in number. This was Moody's way of teaching them about the doctrine of limited atonement. Good children are

like Christ because his image is stamped upon them. They do what pleases him, but wicked children are disobedient to God as well as to their parents. The Father has given good children to Christ, but Christ has also chosen them. But he could have chosen others "and left you to perish in your sins."

In the final analysis the doctrine of election determined who will be good children and who will not. Good children will choose to obey, but children do not become good merely by obeying. Christ loves "good children" because he has chosen them, but he "surely hates wicked children." Christ's rejection of them will not be deferred to a far off judgment day, Moody declared, but may come sooner than any of them expect. It might be revealed in some impending disaster.

He may send indians to kill you. He threatens to kill wicked children with death. As the wolf comes and catches and carries away the lambs; so God may send the Indians to carry you away. . . . You may be carried away by Indians, and die in the woods; and the ravens of the valley may pluck out your eyes, and the young eagles may eat them. So it was with a child at Cape Neddick; and so it may be again.

Moody's use of "terror" was unrelenting. For those who might have thought they were safe by staying indoors and out of danger, Moody had more thoughts for them to ponder:

Think of dying in a short time. Little Elizabeth Banks and Richard Banks are dead and gone; and you don't know how soon you may be called to go after them. . . . But for your terror, let me tell you, that if you don't speedily turn to the Lord, it will not be long before you will be burning and roaring in Hell . . . I am persuaded some of you will be gone forever in a few weeks, if you are not converted. Some of you, I'm afraid, are

grown up dead ripe in sin already; and when you come to stand before the judgment seat of Christ, I will witness against you; and your parents will witness against you. And what will you do when you come to be bound hand and foot and flung into the mouth of the burning bottomless pit? You'll cry out, O I can't go down there! but go you must, and lie there forever.⁸

Moody's purpose, however, was not to terrorize children but to convert them. The doctrine of predestination notwithstanding, Moody offered hope to his young hearers, if they would but respond to Christ. "If the worst Children that are, will leave their wicked ways, and become good children, then Christ will love them. He will forget and forgive all their sins." He told them this, he said, to encourage them. "Tho' you have been very wicked, yet if you return to him, he will receive you into the arms of love." It is dangerous to delay becoming good children; "if you put it off," he told them, "God may cut you off." They may become good children by prayer and by learning to love, fear, and serve Christ and God. His purpose, he declared, was to comfort good children and "wicked children too, that will now begin to be good." He concluded on a note of hope: "He will take you up to be with him, and with the good angels, and with your good parents, and with all good people, for ever and ever."

If one were to read these last few passages out of context and disregard Moody's clearly articulated doctrine of predestination, his appeal to "wicked children" could be construed to imply a concession to human ability and a capacity for moral decision. He stated, implicitly here and explicitly elsewhere, however, that he believed only the elect would

be truly converted and saved.⁹ Because neither he nor they could, at that point, be sure that they were, or were not, among the elect, he encouraged them to test the waters, as it were, to find out what their spiritual status might be. He was thus introducing them to the practice of preparation at an early age. If they made an effort, it was a hopeful sign that a "grain of true grace"¹⁰ was present; if they made no effort, it was a warning that they might be among the reprobate. In either case, it was a matter of God's grace and of his eternal decree of predestination to salvation or reprobation, not of human ability or moral capacity.

There were, however, a number of disparate elements in Moody's theology of conversion. He used "terror," which implies a call for "sudden" conversion, and at the same time he appealed to the use of means in the manner of the classic preparationists. David Hall refers to "the classic dilemma of Puritan evangelism, : how to reconcile conversionism with the doctrines of means and nurture."¹¹ This "dilemma" is apparent in Moody's Discourse to Little Children, for in it he mixed conversion and nurture motifs. The means of conversion among preparationists included elements commonly associated with Christian nurture: prayer, scripture reading, attendance upon preaching, private meditation, and observance of the Lord's Supper. Moody encouraged the use of all these means. Especially instructive is the manner in which Moody encouraged children to partake of the Lord's Supper.

Don't please yourselves with childish vanities, with fine clothes, and the like. But get the wedding garment of Christ's righteousness: and come to his supper. You may come to the Lord's Supper, if you are not above¹² thirteen or fourteen years old: some have done so . . .

Moody appears to have approved the use of the Lord's Supper as a "converting ordinance" for children under fourteen, but required those over that age to make a relation of religious experience, whether or not they had previously partaken of the sacrament. His sacramental practice of admitting children to the Lord's Supper may well have been unique in Puritan New England.

Moody may not have been as different from his more "moderate" colleagues, however, as his explicit use of "terror" may lead us to assume. The tone of his sermons may seem to our ears harsher than the preaching of urbane and cultured ministers in large population centers, but it is the effects of Puritan preparationist and predestinarian rhetoric with which we are concerned rather than with the tone or homiletical structure of the Puritan sermon. And before the Great Awakening it was the ideas and theology conveyed by the sermon, rather than its dramatic qualities or rhetorical technique, that was important. The primary effect of preparationist and predestinarian theology and preaching was what we call "theocentric anxiety," a phenomenon of religious experience much more common in colonial New England than we might at first suppose. Philip Greven has written extensively about childhood experience among New England Puritans, arguing that among "evangelicals," in contrast to "moderates," the

religious experiences of children and youth were almost universally stressful and anxiety ridden. Yet this phenomenon seems to have extended beyond "evangelical" churches and families to many whom Greven regards as "moderates."

One such family was that of Samuel Sewall, closely related to the Moody family by blood and association, but quite different in social and cultural perspective. Greven mentions the "moderate" character of Sewall family life but makes no reference to the series of religious crises experienced by daughter Elizabeth and other children of the Sewall household. For Greven, the Sewall family was an example of the "self-controlled" moderates who "rejected the harsh and inflexible assertion of parental authority and absolute power over children that produced the fear so often felt by evangelicals."¹³ Yet Elizabeth, whose daughter Mary Hirst would be a very important person in the life of Joseph Moody during the diary years, was not, despite her father's "moderate" attitudes, spared fearful anxiety about her election and acceptance by God. The most plausible explanation of Elizabeth's religious crisis seems to be not a failure of the "moderate mode of child-rearing," but the widespread prevalence of a belief system that encouraged "theocentric anxiety" among evangelicals and moderates alike. Elizabeth's traumatic religious crises was precipitated not by what she heard from the pulpit at Old South Church but by what she read from the religious literature available to her in her own home. On January 5, 1696, she read a sermon by John Norton based on John 7.³⁴ ("Ye shall seek me,

and shall not find me: and where I am, thither ye cannot come.") and John 8.21 ("Ye shall seek me, and shall die in your sins.") Her anxiety was compounded by reading somewhere in Cotton Mather's writings, "Why hath Satan filled thy heart?" For more than a week she brooded over these texts and Norton's and Mather's interpretation of them, and by the time her father, Judge Sewall, arrived home on the evening of January 13, her depression had given way to panic. The family's pastor, Samuel Willard, was called to calm her fears, and although, according to her father, Judge Sewall, "Mr. Willard pray'd excellently," her religious crisis continued for several months. Elizabeth Sewall, and presumably other children of "moderate" Puritans, experienced much the same sort of "theocentric anxiety" that was felt by the less privileged children of the New England hinterlands who sat under the likes of Samuel Moody.

Samuel Moody was a masterful preacher of "terror" and he was at his best in this art with an audience of children. He was not, however, the only preacher in New England--dead or alive--who evoked lasting doubt in the minds of his hearers. Joseph Moody's transcription of his father's Discourse to Little Children does, however, provide a vivid account of what a child might hear first hand while sitting at the feet of one of New England's most powerful preachers. The children who heard Father Moody that day were among the young and early middle-aged adults who rolled in the dust of the highways and byways of York and cried out for God's mercy when a religious

revival of the Great Awakening swept the community in 1742. But son Joseph was not among them, for "theocentric anxiety" had done its work too well, convincing him that there was no hope for him. He would sit alone in despair of his salvation while all about him his neighbors indulged in paroxysms of ecstasy that the fetters of preparationism had finally been broken and that sinful souls could have the free grace of God simply for the asking--a kind of instant salvation.

In 1707, Samuel Moody published a sermon entitled The Vain Youth Summoned to Appear At Christ's Bar, or an Essay to Block Up the Sinful Ways of Young People by most Solemn Considerations Relating to that JUDGMENT unto which they are Hastening. The sermon, preached by Moody in 1701, was the first publication by any Maine resident.¹⁴ It addressed the special circumstances of the youth of York at the time, but no doubt the theme of the sermon was repeated frequently over the next two decades.

Moody expounded his version of the doctrine of original sin and human depravity by declaring that inherent sinfulness was clearly evident in children from birth. The awakening of moral consciousness to an awareness of good and evil only served to stimulate the corruptions of the heart and to provoke sinful desires. The main value in early instructions and correction by godly parents was to provide some restraint for the children's sinful natures. He was hardly optimistic about the benefits of Christian nurture, however. The sins

of youth were so numerous, he declared, that he preferred not to recount them. He did, however, suggest "a few Hints leaving it with their own Consciences, to tell them more at large, what have been their several Pleasant walks, in the Garden of Sinful Delights." Whatever effect Moody intended his words to have, it is as likely they may have stirred a prurient imagination as convicted a tender conscience.

Moody required of his young hearers much more than a reformation of manners or mere assent to the truth of the doctrine of human depravity. The key word in his rhetoric of redemption was "consideration." Consideration was the act of thinking upon spiritual truth "with the greatest seriousness of Soul" concerning one's eternal destiny. By means of consideration" one might come to "affectionate knowledge" by which the individual might and ought to be deeply moved by the prospect of his being judged for his sins. If knowledge were truly affectionate, it would also be "a practical knowledge." By this he meant a knowledge of God put into practice. Practical knowledge was, for Moody, an experience of faith, repentance, and a new obedience to God. It was first of all "a discovery of JESUS CHRIST as the only and Alsufficient Saviour." True repentance followed as a sign of grace which accompanied saving faith. The proper sequence of these experiences was of utmost importance.

But to imagine that Godly Sorrow for Sin goes before Faith is the dangerous mistake of many poor Souls, who think they mourn for Sin to fit them for Christ; and when they think they have done so, they hope Christ will accept them, and to Him they go; (if it might be called going

to Christ) . . . Its true, a Soul must be Humbled before it can Believe, but that Humiliation which goes before Faith, has not a drop of Godly Sorrow for Sin in it.¹⁵

Moody was reflecting the language of Shepard's sermons of a half-century earlier in which Shepard had set forth the notion that souls come to grace through stages of preparation. For both Moody and Shepard preparatory stages were "necessary" but true faith came only after the soul's humiliation. Mere desire to be saved was no sign of grace, as it had been for Sibbes and other English Puritans. Humiliation that preceded faith was the despairing acknowledgment of one's complete unworthiness without any expectation of mercy. In words reminiscent of Shepard, Moody declared,

Yea, after all its Signs and Groans, and earnest Cries for Mercy, if God should kick it away from His Foot-stool (where it lies prostrate with its mouth in the Dust) into the Bottomless Pit, yet God is Righteous! This is that Humiliation which goes before faith.¹⁶

Moody's God was thus not bound by any obligation to save the penitent sinner, who should not presume upon God's mercy to affect in him a godly sorrow for sin before faith was given to him through grace. For Moody, as for Shepard, there was to be no bargaining with God, no flattering assumption of human capacity or natural ability.

Moody, in common with Shepard and other preparationists, frequently used the phrase "means of grace," or simply "means." He did not, however, intend to encourage his hearers to believe that these means were the means by which the soul might obtain grace. They were, rather, the means by which grace might become evident to the believer. By the use of means the soul

became acutely aware of its spiritual desolation and alienation from God and his grace. The use of means was primarily, from the preparationist's point of view, a way of heightening one's sense of guilt and deepening one's despair. "Preparation work" and "convictions" were not to be confused with true conversion. To think we are converted when we are not, said Moody, is "the ready way never to be Converted."

Moody's sermon to the "vain youth" of York warned of the danger of presumptuous hope and of a false reliance on means. In order to be saved, one must first believe he is, and be willing to be, damned. But, having convinced oneself that this was so, we may observe, there was no guarantee that one would come at length to the assurance of faith. Not many children, to be sure, understood the theological implications of Moody's preparationist preaching. But those who did, and for one in particular--Joseph Moody-- Father Moody's powerful preaching of preparationist-predestinarian theology led--or drove--them to a kind of negative faith that resulted in profound despair.

Those who did not understand the implications of preparationist theology except that they were excluded from church membership by it, waiting many years for an experience of grace that might never come--these were the souls, they and their children, who would one day join the great spiritual "Völkerwanderung" known as the Great Awakening. On that day parish boundaries would give way to strange urgings of the Spirit and the sober dignity of traditional New England

character would be transformed by the new devotion of religious ecstasy. Men and women would cry out for grace, half pleading, half demanding that God answer their call. But, as has been said, Joseph Moody would not be among them.

In 1710, when son Joseph was 10 years old, Father Moody gathered together several of his sermons and published them under the title, The Doleful State of the Damned Especially such as go to Hell from under the Gospel; Aggravated from the Apprehensions of the Saints Happiness in Heaven.¹⁷ These sermons were not directed toward children especially, but The Doleful State clearly illustrates the tenor of Father Moody's preaching.

A second edition was published in 1739 under the title, The Gospel Way of Escaping the doleful State of the Damned: With a Representation of their more Aggravated Misery, who go to hell from under the Gospel.¹⁸ The second edition was reset, but it was a verbatim copy of the first edition. The difference in the titles is the difference in attitudes toward salvation between 1710 and 1739. The title of the first edition more accurately reflected Moody's emphasis: that "gospel sinners"--those who continue unconverted in spite of hearing the gospel continuously--justly deserve the wrath that awaits them. The second edition tempered the "doleful state" by emphasizing in its title "the gospel way" of escaping divine wrath through the sinner's coming to faith.

The recurring theme in The Doleful State was "the Difficulty of getting to Heaven, and the Fewness of those that

shall be saved." Moody shared this point of view with other Puritan preachers, including, of course, Shepard. Many will make an effort, but few will attain to salvation. Many want it, but most will be denied. Many "secure sinners" are awakened and stirred up by the fear of hell or by the hope of heaven, and for a time many show hopeful signs of the working of God's Spirit in their hearts, but in the end they fail. Nevertheless, although our own endeavors will not bring us to heaven, Moody declared, "we must strive against, and beat our way thro' many and mighty Oppositions." Many who "enjoy the Means of Grace, with the People of God" shall nevertheless be lost, and will be tormented in hell by a knowledge of the joys of the saved.

Moody did not presume to discern the distinction between the elect and the reprobate among his people.

When we behold a Congregation of professed Christians, tho' we dare not ordinarily look on any person it it, and say, We know that Man or Woman to be unconverted; nor may we be infallibly certain that any number of them have experienced a Saving Change: Yet we may conclude that such as attend¹⁹ the means of Grace together, are of these two sorts . . .

Many true believers do not have assurance that they are among the elect, according to Moody. Many who presume to be among the saved will ultimately be lost, and many who have no assurance that they are among the elect will be saved at the last.

Moody observed that those who lack assurance are often those who most diligently and earnestly apply the means of grace. At this point Moody might have followed the tradition

of Richard Sibbes and encouraged those who had even the slightest indication in their hearts to hold to the hope that they would eventually be converted. Instead he followed the tradition of Shepard, warning of the danger of false faith rather than encouraging the efficacy of the feeblest hope. Thus Moody's preaching heightened the anxiety of his hearers concerning the state of their souls.

Moody differed from Shepard in one important respect, however. He suggested that the storming of heaven by anxious sinners was a highly competitive effort based on self-interest. Shepard had regarded self-interest and self-love as merely indicative of man's sinfulness. Moody endorsed self-love as the primary and legitimate concern of anxious sinners: "Indeed, Whether few or many shall be Saved, is not so much Concernment unto us, as that WE be of the happy Number. This is the first Reason or Motive, with which Christ does back and enforce His Exhortation."²⁰

According to Moody, "Gospel Sinners" and "refined Hypocrites" were those who had been admitted to church fellowship, enjoyed "Gospel privileges," attended the means of grace, and performed the duties of religion. Their "confident hopes of acceptance with God, and a place among the Blessed" were based on these external experiences. They were indeed "the Children of the Kingdom," with every apparent right to expect to be accepted. But their hope was based on "their Carnal Confidence in External Privileges." They shall at the last be thrust out, to go as malefactors to execution, "Sore against their wills."

The "damned," according to Moody, were those who made a claim to religion, but who lacked saving grace and true faith.

It was, nevertheless, essential that the sinner pursue every opportunity to exploit the means of grace, for this was his only hope. Saving faith, for Moody, was not an experience of "sudden seizure" by God; it followed only from the diligent and proper use of the means of grace, which, although not in themselves efficacious, invariably accompanied the bestowal of saving grace. Complacency could not be justified by appeal to the doctrine of decrees or of irresistible grace.

God is not obligated to save anyone, Moody wrote. If all mankind were relegated to hell, God would nevertheless be just for all men are by nature unworthy of salvation. And "How could Grace be free, if GOD were not at liberty to bestow it on whom He pleases? It was essential for all sinners to accept this perspective. It was their only hope. Otherwise, they would merely be hardened against God. It is better to be uncertain of one's spiritual estate than to be confident. If a whole congregation were known to be reprobate, Moody declared, there would be no hope. If all were known to be among the elect, there would be "no such Hazzard run, no Venture made" and no "poor self-Condemed Sinner" would cast himself on the underserved mercy of God. Anxiety about one's salvation was an essential basis of hope in Moody's theology of salvation. One must despair of salvation before grace would be bestowed.

In 1714 Moody published a sermon which he had only recently preached to the children of his congregation. The sermon, entitled Judas the Traitor Hung Up in Chains,²¹ warned those who professed religion that they should "Beware of Worldymindedness and hypocrisy." Judas, the betrayer of Jesus, was held up as an example of those who make a show of religion, but whose hearts are not truly changed by conversion.

Moody addressed his young charges as if they were hardened sinners: "Turn ye, turn ye from your Evil ways; for why will ye die, O children of New England?" There was no need for any New England child to perish. "Poor Hearts; You are going to Hell indeed; But will it not be a dreadful thing to go to Hell from New England; from this Land of Light to that Dungeon of Eternal Darkness.: Yet children might avoid hell by choosing heaven, Moody declared. They must pray for converting grace and learn to fear God by learning and understanding their catechisms. They must keep the Sabbath, pray, read, learn, and obey their parents.

Although Moody declared that children could choose heaven rather than hell, and that all sinners are condemned because of their own misguided choices, the fate of Judas suggested to Moody the need for a discussion of the doctrine of predestination. He admitted that "The very Word PREDESTINATION has an Ungrateful Sound in some Ears." But, he declared, the scripture plainly teaches it. Moody rejected the notion that God made some men, even Judas, expressly to damn them. But in predestinating some [read many] to be damned, God did so

"for his own Glory in their Self-procured Destruction." The "Unaccountable and Uncontrollable, Sovereign Lord" may and does pass by many fallen men, without affording the means of salvation to them, but their damnation is nevertheless their own fault.

Moody made short shrift of the logical tension between predestination and free choice. Souls go to hell by their own choice, he declared, and one's choice is a manifestation of one's true nature. "Everything tends to its proper Center-- Heavy Bodies descend; and the Sparks fly upward. Now, Hell is the Wicked mans Center." It is the reprobate sinner's nature to make the wrong, soul-condemning choice and nothing could change what God had decreed to be a sinner's nature.

Moody was at his best in describing hell and the torments of the damned. His sermons are replete with images of the vivid torments and terrors awaiting the damned. Hell, he declared, is a vast bottomless pit, a place of darkness, and yet at the same time a place of eternal fire. "Fire they shall have enough, yet no light." In hell there is, said Moody, neither water nor hope, and no relief from pain and torment. It is like the worst prison imaginable: "Without a Drop of Comfort, or Moments of Respite; arising either from Sense of Ease, or Hope of End: with a Million Million aggravations." "You must," he told his young audience, "you must indeed Turn or Burn--Your Choice lies between these two."²² Moody recognized that fear of hell was not the highest motive of the convicted sinner, but if fear would bring a soul to

grace it was, demonstrably, the proper means:

Yet how glad should I be to see some of you but heartily afraid of Hell; Soundly terrified, even with Legal and Tormenting Fears. Its true; The Most Kindly and Evangelical Order is, when Faith excites Fear . . . [Fear of damnation] may Scare a Graceless Wretch, and make him Cry out.²³

Moody preached his relentless gospel without compassion for the fear-stricken sinner. Indeed, it was his purpose to rouse the complacent and bring all to a terrified repentance of their sins. The price of such a methodology of conversion, we may observe, was to strand many a desolate soul on the reefs of despair.

The occasion of the death of Thomas Sewall on July 8, 1716, at Harvard College gave Father Moody an opportunity to address a select group of young men--Harvard students all. One was his son, who was one of Sewall's bearers. Joseph's attention, for the moment at least, was transfixed on eternity. Young Sewall was a relative of Hannah Sewall Moody, Father Moody's wife, and a classmate of Joseph Moody. We may assume that young Moody was especially attentive to the sermon that day.

"You are the Children of the Covenant,"²⁴ Father Moody declared. "To you is the Promise, That you shall be taught of God; fed with knowledge;" the great opportunities of life are before you. Their fellow student, recently deceased, had been dismissed by his "Siritual Tutor" and called home from toilsome studies. He was now enrolled, said Moody, in the "true Immanuel College, at the University of Angels." His lot, Moody declared, is now far better than it was before, and far

beyond that of the earth-bound students still at Harvard. Moody intimated that young Sewall had been behind his classmates, but that they must now catch up with him. For those who remained behind, there was an arduous road ahead. He recalled his own experience as a "Junior Sophister" reading Willard on the doctrine of justification with little understanding. This should serve as a warning to all of them to be diligent. There was much to be learned and perhaps little time left for any of them.

Moody then addressed the question of the identity of the "children of the covenant": "Whose children these be, and what promises are given to them?" Then he set forth the argument that they were the whole body of professors, both Jews and Gentiles. The whole visible church is included as recipients of the promises. But being a member of the visible church was no guarantee that one would receive grace. The children of godly parents were far more likely to be converted, he said, than the children of indifferent or careless parents; but nevertheless "not a few of the Children of Godly Parents do forsake God, and are Cast off by him forever," while some of the children of the wicked are saved. One ought not, therefore, to rest comfortably on the salutary benefits of having godly parents. The "unconditional" promise was rather to those who come under the spiritual and internal, as well as external, teachings of the Word.

It is a study in paradoxes to observe that Moody spoke of election, "unconditional" promises, the doctrine of the

covenant, preparation of the soul for grace, human initiative, predestination, terror and grace, all in the same context. From the less strident of these elements some have concluded that New England Puritans generally shifted from a Calvinist to an Arminian position on the doctrines of grace and human ability. What was true of the generality of Puritans must also be true of Father Moody, for he used, at times, much the same language that has led some Puritan scholars--Perry Miller especially--to conclude that New England Puritans had opened the door to Arminian ideas of free will and human ability. But Moody here as elsewhere was using a language of accommodation consistent with a strict Calvinist perspective. That day in Cambridge none in the special audience before him would have understood him to be making a brief for human ability.

Moody presumed that the children of the covenant were among the elect--a New England version of Calvin's judgment of charity. God had bestowed His Spirit upon them, but they might, if they resisted and quenched His operations in their hearts, "Grieve and Vex him away." It was important for them, therefore, not to be content with mere doctrinal or historical knowledge about faith; they must learn these things thoroughly and come to know them "Experimentally and Savingly." The elect learn what the unregenerate cannot comprehend, that they are worthy of death for their sins and that God's wrath is intolerably dreadful. No virtue or ability can save them from the just wrath of God. Mere assent to the gospel is futile. The unregenerate may even repent and believe the gospel, "as he

Carnally understands it," but that is not enough. The reprobate cannot truly believe with saving faith even when he wants to. A man may "be Damn'd to all Eternity; and yet Believe he cannot, though he were to go to Hell in an Hour." Even the children of the covenant cannot repent and believe until "they are Renewed in the Spirit of their Minds, and made willing." But they are not, Moody insisted, to remain indifferent or passive, for "there is something to be done by them, in order of their conversion." God is not required, he declared, to respond to human pleading. Nevertheless one must continue seeking, though no one can know for certain that he seeks aright. Despair of one's salvation was thus a means of bringing the sinner to "Unconditional Surrender" to God.

Nested in Moody's rhetoric of redemption and despair is a passage that seems, at first glance, to support the idea of human ability: "After the Work of Faith, first wrought in us, and then by us, God has not left himself at Liberty whether he will save us or not; but becomes Self-Obliged by his free Promise to Christ, and unto us through him."²⁵ This was not a departure from Calvinism by Moody, however. It was simply his way of acknowledging, in good Calvinist fashion, that God alone has free will, and that by the exercise of His free will God can bind Himself to specific action on man's behalf. By that means alone can a man be saved. Man in himself is in no better position because of God's free act. Man is no less subject to a sovereign and predestinating God: "I am wholly Disarm'd, and now, Immediately exposed," Moody declared, "naked

to the Sword of Revenging Justice whither I surrender or not
 . . . If I get nothing . . . If I am Damned thou art Just."

Thomas Sewall had, in Moody's judgment, experienced grace and conversion. This could be said of him, now that he was dead. He had been rightly taught. The seed sown had taken root. He had reaped the benefits of the promises of the covenant. But his classmates and colleagues at Harvard College should not presume upon the promises of the covenant to gain them entrance into glory. It was not certain that God would respond to human pleading with saving grace in all cases. One might even plead in vain, but plead one must.

Two years later Moody again addressed the student body of Harvard College, this time under happier circumstances. The occasion was the commencement of the class of 1718, and the graduation of his son Joseph. His text was John 6.37: "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out." The apparent meaning of the text and its context in Jesus' discourse is that there is assurance for the believer, but Moody's interpretation of the passage pointed his hearers in another direction. The sermon title, Smoaking Flax Inflamed, was taken from Matthew 12.20. It suggests a comparison with Richard Sibbes's famous sermon of 1630, The Bruised Reed and Smoaking Flax. Sibbes, a prominent English Puritan, preached the sermon to encourage the "awakened sinner" to believe by virtue of his desire to be saved that the grace of God was already operative

and salvific for him. The effect of Moody's sermon, however, was to break the "bruised reed" and to quench the "smoking flax" of the fragile faith of many of his hearers. For Sibbes, "Nothing is so certain as that which is certain after doubts."²⁶ But no one should doubt, according to Moody, for doubt is a sign of unbelief, and the one who doubts is damned already. For Moody, confidence in the promise of God was a corollary of the doctrine of election. To despair of one's hope--in spite of the preacher's encouragement to do so--was an almost certain sign of reprobation, according to Moody.

In the Puritan theology of conversion, doubt about one's spiritual estate was closely associated with a strict interpretation of the doctrine of limited atonement. If only a few were to be saved, how was the seeker to know that he might be among them? Sibbes had given lip-service to the doctrine, but simply did not raise the issue. Moody, like Shepard before him, insisted in introducing the doctrine of limited atonement into his sermons in conjunction with his demand that the sinner base his hope on the doctrine of election. Election came not from believing, but from the divine decree. Assurance, nevertheless, came through the experience of believing. Awakened sinners who continued to doubt must be roused and alarmed. Moody addressed those among his youthful hearers whose thoughts often wandered in other directions:

Now, are not some of you, that hear me this evening, nearly concerned in this our Saviors Improvement of the Doctrine of Election; by way of most solemn warning? Not concerned to find your Names written in Heaven, when your ALL for Eternity depends on it!²⁷

"Eternity depends on it!" So Father Moody said, and said again, and again. But what impact did the father's words--in these sermons and in the countless personal catechisms implicit in the relationship of minister and son--have on Joseph, the listening boy. We must conjecture, of course, but our conjectures are aided by our knowledge of what the boy became as a man.

We may assume, on the basis of the "natural history" of human growth, that sometime around his thirteenth year young Moody began to understand certain allusions in his father's preaching in a new light. "Live not by any secret sin," Moody had warned his youthful auditors in 1713:

Are there not many in the Visible Church, who do secretly those things which are not Right, against the Lord? . . . Secretly practice Mischief . . . And Secretly Pollute themselves . . . Can any hide themselves in Secret Places, that God should not see them . . . O the Atheism of Secret Sinners! Did we set God always before us, we should no more Sin in the Secret Chamber, on the Blackest Night, than on the House top, before all Israel, and before the Sun.²⁸

Throughout his later diary Joseph Moody would be concerned with specific patterns of belief and behavior that were a constant source of spiritual discomfort and anxiety for him. One of these concerns was his habitual masturbation, for him a sign of reprobation. Because of it, even a minister's son might be numbered among the hypocrites, among the damned. The authority for such a conclusion was none other than Father Moody himself. The awakening of Joseph's early manhood undoubtedly became the occasion for his initial anxiety before God as the impact of his father's explicit preaching struck home. The alternative to being sent to hell, Father Moody had de-

clared, was public shame and public repentance. That would be better "than to go on by pleasing ones Self with the Concealed Delights of any Secret Abomination," which would at length "slide the Sinner down insensibly, to Hell." The father's homiletical strategy was clear enough. "How glad should I be," he declared, "to see some of you but heartily afraid of Hell"--and he saw to it that they were! He had but one purpose--to make men and women, and boys and girls, fear for their souls. He measured his success by their vocal response, for fear of damnation "may scare a Graceless Wretch, and make him Cry out." But the son would never cry out, except within his inner being. Two main characteristics of his life were an unending search for affective piety and a proclivity for secrecy. No doubt he was mortally afraid of the hell his father depicted. But he would not profess an experience of conversion to which he had not attained. In later life he would even sit through the fervor of the Great Awakening itself, unmoved by the religious ecstasy that swirled about him.

Young Joseph, we know, heard both of Samuel Moody's Harvard sermons. In a way they were a break from a more "moderate" preaching to which he had become accustomed, for during seven years in Cambridge Joseph listened to the preaching of William Brattle. Brattle was no preparationist by any means, and the Cambridge church, with Brattle in the pulpit, did not ring with the stern cadences of a Thomas Hooker, a Shepard, a Jonathan Mitchell, or a Samuel Moody. One sitting

under Brattle's preaching might well conclude that salvation depended on a man's good intentions toward God. He had long since relaxed the standards of church membership, neglecting, according to Increase Mather, "to Enquire into the Regeneration of those whom they admit unto their Communion."²⁹ Brattle, like Richard Sibbes, assumed that his audience was already regenerate. He had little or nothing to say about religious anxiety, fear of hell, but apparently a great deal to say about how "the religious & godly man does firmly believe that no evil can annoy or hurt such as God undertakes for: Such as are truly religious & godly do realize the Power of God, the infiniteness of his Wisdom, his Truth & faithfulness, & all his blessed & glorious perfections."³⁰ Brattle believed strongly in the power of personal faith, and his confidence may have led the impressionable young Moody to believe that, as long as he had faith, salvation was not a matter to worry about: "Such as have faith," said Brattle, "do believe that God will infallibly perform the blessed promise which he has made of eternal life to such as love him & life to him: By faith the promise is realized not only as promise, but as a promise which without fail will be fulfilled."³¹ Brattle had little to say about repentance and much regarding "a suitable carriage toward God" which in times of stress and affliction was the saint's best hope, for "the great usefullness of such a frame does highly recommend it to our sincerest desires; & our most sedulous endeavors."³² If such preaching was not Arminianism, it was close to it.

Father Moody's appearances at Harvard College could well have reminded Joseph of the harsher tradition on which he had been nurtured in earlier days. In any event, following the second of Father Moody's sermons at Harvard the son would go home to York, once again to hear regularly his father's voice ring out a warning to sleepy sinners, to children who in their play were apt to be forgetful of the watchful God taking note of every thought and motion. Preparation and predestination--words often heard but half understood in childhood--took on new and ominous meanings for a Harvard College graduate. Father Moody's graduation sermon contained things Joseph had heard many times before but which he might well have put aside during busy and distracting years at Harvard: One must prepare one's soul with all diligence and by the use of all the means of grace; predestination, the unalterable decree of God which had determined the destiny of every human soul for heaven or hell before the world was made, even before God Himself had taken note of whether a man should live to do good or evil in his sight; The absence of certainty, only marks and signs by which a man might read his eternal destiny by the daily ebb and flow of the Spirit's movement in his heart. Whatever complacency and sense of security young Moody developed at Harvard would give way to the hard realities of a world where uncertainty and portents of disaster were commonplace. One must learn to contemplate the signs of one's eternal destiny, as well as keep an ear open for the latest news of Indian incursions. And for Moody there would be more than enough bad

signs to contemplate.

Contemplation was the heart and core of the preparatory discipline his father taught. To be prepared was to be aroused and alarmed--in some ways much like daily life on the frontier of the northern wilderness. Throughout the diary years the younger Moody vacillated between coldness and indifference--the influence of his Harvard experience, perhaps--and an acute anxiety concerning the state of his soul--surely the influence of his father's tutelage. One could not come too soon or too fast, and yet one must wait diligently, hopefully, submissively "for that Inward Revelation of the Holy Spirit of Promise." But it was an experience that never came for Joseph Moody. The boy grown to manhood was to find himself in a maze of theological paradoxes propounded by the man in the pulpit, his "honored father," whose voice soon drowned out the gentle homilies of William Brattle. To be in process of preparation was to be in a shadow land between grace and damnation. The more profoundly this was understood, the deeper the despair of one striving to make a way to the Heavenly City.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

¹ Moody diary manuscript, January 2, 1723: "Milvus meus vix volavit. Ita frequenter immita fecit Deus jactantiam cordis mei in idolis suis." Moody used a Latin word for "bird of prey." Moody kept birds, probably doves. That he meant a paper kite is apparent from the previous day's entry: "Finivi milvus cartaceum."

² [Samuel Moody], Mr. Moody's Discourse to Little Children (Boston, 1749). Joseph Moody added the explanation that these were "Some imperfect Notes of a Sermon preached to some Children in York, July 25, 1721, after Catechizing."

³ Compare Moody with Shepard: "God is the great Spectator that beholds thee in every place. God is thy Spy, and takes complete notice of all the actions of thy life . . . Fear to sin, therefore, in secret, unless thou canst find out some dark hole where the eye of God can not discern thee . . ." John A. Albro, ed., The Works of Thomas Shepard, II (Boston, 1853), 16.

⁴ The quotation refers to Jonathan Edwards, of whom Perry Miller observed, "He refused to follow the custom, generally observed by his colleagues, of making regular visits to all his people in their homes." Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1959 [1949]), 128. The Moody diary reveals that Father Moody was diligent in pastoral visitation.

⁵ An allusion to John 1.47, 48.

⁶ Michael McGiffert, ed., God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography and Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, Mass., 1972), 198.

⁷ [Moody], Discourse, 12.

⁸ Ibid., 16. For notice of the death of Elizabeth Banks, see the Moody diary, August 30, 1720; and for Richard Banks, March 25, 1721.

⁹ Samuel Moody, The Doleful State of the Damned Especially such as go to Hell from under the Gospel; Aggravated from the Apprehensions of the Saints Happiness in Heaven (Boston, 1710), passim.

¹⁰ Ibid., 119. This is a rare instance where Samuel Moody may have reflected the influence of Richard Sibbes (1577-1635), an English Puritan divine, who found hopeful signs of God's redemptive work in the feeblest spark and smallest evidence of faith, or even in one's desire to be saved, a view quite contrary to the position of New England preparationists. According to Perry Miller, Sibbes was one of the most quoted, most respected, and most influential of contemporary English Puritans among the early New England divines [Errand into the Wilderness (New York, 1964), 59]. The facts do not bear out Miller's opinion, however, nor does Miller himself say much of substance about Sibbes's alleged influence in New England. It was not Sibbes's view of how men come to grace, but Shepard's preparationism that prevailed in New England. John Cotton, a loyal follower of Sibbes, was challenged effectively by Shepard and other hard-line preparationists, and Cotton's influence was greatly reduced by his association with the Hutchinsonians. For a comparison of Sibbes's views with those of New England preparationists, see the present author's unpublished paper, "Puritanism's Tender Root: A Variation on the Theme of Preparationism."

¹¹ David D. Hall, The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1972), 289.

¹² [Moody], Discourse, 14. Moody differed from Shepard on children partaking of the Lord's Supper. Shepard included children in church membership by virtue of baptism, but excluded them from the Lord's Supper. See Larzer Ziff, The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience (Princeton, N. J., 1962), 231-232; also see Thomas Shepard, The Church Membership of Children, and Their Right to Baptism (Cambridge, Mass., 1663), 16.

¹³ Philip Greven, The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America (New York, 1977), 151.

¹⁴ Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763 (New York, 1970), 86.

¹⁵ Samuel Moody, The Vain Youth Summoned to Appear at Christ's Bar, or An Essay to Block up the Sinful Ways of Young People by most Solemn Considerations Relating to that JUDGMENT unto which they are Hastening (Boston, 1707), 18.

¹⁶ Ibid.

17 The title and content of these sermons indicates Father Moody's frustration at the slow progress of conversions in his parish. He no doubt had his victories here and there, but there is no indication of a spiritual "harvest" until the late 1730s and early 1740s.

18 Moody, The Gospel Way . . . (Boston, 1739). Somewhat ironically, The Gospel Way was published shortly after Joseph Moody publicly despaired of his salvation. See A Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal from His Return to Georgia to His Arrival at Falmouth (London, 1741), 82, Thursday, October 2, 1740. Also see Samuel Moody to Edward Wigglesworth, October 17, 1739 (Autograph File, Houghton Library, Harvard University).

19 Moody, Doleful State, 13.

20 Ibid., 1.

21 Samuel Moody, Judas the Traitor Hung Up in Chains to Give Warning to Professors that they Beware of Worldly-mindedness and Hypocrisy (Boston, 1714).

22 Ibid., 26.

23 Ibid., 68.

24 Samuel Moody, The Children of the Covenant Under the Promise of Divine Teachings, In a Funeral Discourse occasioned by the death of Thomas Sewall Student at Harvard College who died in Cambridge July 18th 1716 (Boston, 1716).

25 Ibid., 26.

26 Richard Sibbes, The Bruised Reede and Smoaking Flax (London, 1630), 15.

27 Moody, Children of the Covenant, 34.

28 Moody, Judas the Traitor, 50, an obvious reference to King David's sin which was sexual in nature. See II Samuel 11.2-5; 12.11, 12; and 16.21, 22.

29 William Brattle was Moody's pastor while he was in Cambridge and at Harvard College. He died on February 15, 1717 and was succeeded by Nathaniel Appleton. Increase Mather's charge set forth in Order of the Gospel (Boston, 1700) is quoted from Williston Walker, Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism (Boston, 1960 [1893]), 478.

³⁰ Brattle, Ms. sermon on Psalm 4.8, February 14, 1708, Massachusetts Historical Society manuscript collection.

³¹ Brattle, Ms. sermon on Galatians 2. 20, January 12, 1701.

³² Brattle, Ms. sermon on Job 1.21, December 11, 1709.

CHAPTER IV

"THE UNUTTERABLE BURDEN OF THE DAMNED"

Moody's spiritual crisis reached a climax in January of 1723. It had been building for over three years, and now on a dark and windy night, alone with his thoughts, he wrote out the charges against himself. Deliberately, systematically, with carefully chosen words he signed and sealed his own condemnation. He was irrevocably lost and he knew it--or so he believed. He knew what ought to be done, but he was powerless to do it. Preparation had failed--for him--and a spiritual paralysis had frozen him into a state of inaction. Moody's analysis of his state was almost clinical. "I neither know nor (frightful to say) am I intensely concerned about what is to be done concerning my miserable soul." In words of agonizing eloquence he described his plight: "I go on without repentance oppressed by the unutterable burden of the damned"--nowhere did he say it more poignantly than here--"still I feel nothing nor do I lament on account of my soul, provided external things go well, a condition more fearful because it is known to be worthy of punishment."¹ This entry is the hinge around which the diary revolves. Everything before it that Moody wrote about himself and his inner feelings points to this moment of self-awareness, this moment of judgment and final despair.

Here Moody stated precisely why he believed he was doomed--

because he could not feel what he thought he must feel if God's grace was truly at work in his heart. He had learned from the preparationists--from his father and Thomas Shepard--that one must lament and mourn for one's sins before one could even hope for grace. He knew, or rather believed, he was lost and damned, but he was unable to feel the grief for the separation from God that the wound of sin was supposed to bring about. He had long known that, by preparationist standards, his spiritual symptoms, if they persisted would be fatal to his hope of salvation--he, in fact, knew too much about the disease that afflicted him. Had he known less about preparationism, less about Shepard's third stage of humiliation, less about predestination, less about man's inability to win the favor of God, he might have clung to a thread of hope that he might be saved. A thread of hope--he knew what it was, just a thread. Once, while discussing his state with his father, he said, he conceived of a thread of hope (*nonnihil spei concepi*), but a fearful sense of security broke that thread in a moment of time. Moody knew that the word nihil--nothing--meant literally not even a thread--the word hilum, thread, coupled with the negative ni.

There were, to be sure, resolutions aimed at, but always "weakly formed." There was a mark that might as well have been the mark of Cain, a "frightful sense of security" which was, he said, "the characteristic mark of my soul." Moody often referred to this mark, a dullness and even indifference to spiritual matters. One suspects, however, that

his standard for measuring these characteristics was far beyond the bounds of ordinary expectation. It becomes apparent from the diary that he found it difficult if not impossible to sustain the level of spiritual intensity he thought was required of him. He expected his pursuit of the means of grace through preparation to lead to a sustained feeling and awareness of the divine presence in his life. That was the way he measured and evaluated his spiritual progress, or lack of it, and because he did not feel about matters of the spirit as he thought he should, he concluded that he was damned.

Moody's concerns at the beginning of the diary were quite consistent with those he expressed over its entirety: the doctrine of election, the religious experiences of others as well as of himself, the vanity of his own behavior, the superficiality of his prayers, the futility of his preaching, the uncertainty of his spiritual state, the transience of his religious feelings, and his foolish and frivolous behavior among other young adults. He often complained of lack of diligence, and he recalled that he had once been more deeply moved by spiritual matters than he now was, and he feared, he said, that he should be without a heart in heaven. He often doubted whether there was any grace in him, and he prayed that he might not rest in a vain hope. On one occasion he indulged in frivolity at a husking bee, and worried about it the next day. He sometimes overindulged in drink and became, he said, overly hilarious. Sometimes he acted imprudently in the company of young women of his acquaintance, and later

felt the need to confess it.

In the early autumn of 1720, just as he began the diary, Moody's spiritual crisis had intensified. He was, he admitted, less often inspired by spiritual concerns than he had been, and often filled with doubt and fear. He saw himself as worthless and filled with atheism, and yet he prayed that God would separate him from his idols and "prepare" him. By being prepared he seems to have meant being prepared for death or for the return of Christ. Two incidents in November 1720 seem to support this assumption. After a near miss with death after falling through the ice in Cape Neddick River, he observed: "It ought to be expected that I should be prepared for death." Obviously he felt that he was not. He doubted that his name was written in the "Book of Life," and he bemoaned his inability to act effectively to make sure of his salvation.

A second incident seemed to him a sign from heaven itself. The previous year there had been a dazzling display of the aurora borealis throughout the northern hemisphere. The heavens again became active in mid-November of 1720, about the time he began reading Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins "concerning preparation for the coming of Christ."² It was a common expectation among devout believers of various Christian traditions that the return of Christ would be accompanied by signs in the heavens, and so the concurrence of the heavenly display with Moody's reading of Shepard moved him profoundly. He had already become deeply involved in preparationist considerations in his search for salvation and assurance, and the display of

the aurora called his attention to Shepard's escatological emphasis with its preoccupation with the final judgment.

While at Harvard and under Brattle's preaching Moody had found the stern preparationism of his father tempered with the gentle assurance that, come what may, a fair minded God would deal gently with the failings of earnest men and bring them through if they would but give attention to their duty. Now the awesome display of celestial power and Shepard's reminders of the dangers of presumption called to Moody's mind the terrors he had felt in childhood under his father's relentless application of preparationist logic. "I supposed that love of Christ," he mused, "would be sufficient for my eternal happiness." But now he was not sure that his love for Christ or Christ's love for him--the Latin does not make clear which he meant--would assure his salvation. The point of this rather cryptic admission was that Moody, from his Harvard years, had come to regard the general promise of Christ's love as a sufficient basis on which he could build his faith and hope for redemption. But, according to Shepard's preparationist theology which he now had to deal with once again, one could not be sure that Christ's love was directed to one until one was truly converted and certain of being regenerated, which Moody was not. Shepard made it clear in his Parable that all the virgins were members of the visible church and had been awakened out of carnal security; they were all espoused to Christ, all dependent on the promises of his love, all awaiting His return. But, Shepard warned, not all would be saved at the

last. Preparation was the key to the hope of salvation. One must not rest his hope on an absolute promise, on the assumption that every promise of the Word was meant for oneself. One must be prepared even while asleep.

Moody's reading of Shepard's Parable caused him to think more deeply about spiritual matters than ever before. Shepard also provided him with a firm theological basis for his evaluation of his spiritual state beyond his day to day feelings about the condition of his soul. Shepard confirmed for him his impression that he was not truly converted and was outside the circle of divine grace. His spiritual crisis became more exacerbated the more he read Shepard. Moody apparently believed that he had fallen from a state of grace he once possessed. He did not mean, however, that he was once regenerate and had since lost his salvation, for that would be Arminianism, which was not an option he was considering at this point. He seems simply to have meant that he once believed that his faith was valid, a conviction that no longer sustained him. It is as if he were Adam mourning for a lost Eden: "Oh if once more he would aid me and make me holy!" His despair concerning his lost estate was, however, shot through with an importunate piety that seems to belie his severe judgment upon himself: "Certainly, if I were asked whom I serve, I do not know what I should answer. Oh if Jesus would take pity on my most unresponsive soul." His cry of dereliction, it should be noted, was more of a wish than a prayer.

Moody was acutely aware of the passing of time in his

spiritual pilgrimage. On the last day of 1720 he cast a backward glance over the preceding 12 months exclaiming, "Now I have spent another year totally in sin, God knows, certainly most injuriously." The new year dawned no more hopefully for him: "My soul is in the greatest degree wanting in affection. Oh if God would prepare me to be sanctified in all my heart!" The absence of holiness that Moody felt was no doubt due in part to his keenly felt awareness of the burden of original sin, a burden borne by Puritans perhaps more self-consciously than by other Christians. But he was also keenly aware that sinful inclinations and habits were a regular part of his experience, and that he had so far been unable to overcome them. The first hint of the problem that would become an increasing concern for him over the next four years appears in the diary entry for January 6, 1721. He had previously noted his attraction to young women and his affectionate intimacies with one especially but here, for the first time, he admitted his generalized sexual feelings. Not until the end of March, however, did he note that he "defiled" himself--his word for masturbation--and not until the following June did he make note of it again. From then to within four months of the end of the diary Moody masturbated regularly and with increased frequency--or so he said. There seems to have been no correlation between the incidents of masturbation and the intensity of Moody's spiritual crises, however. In fact, his masturbation seems to have occurred more often when he was not experiencing religious anxiety or stress. Nevertheless, late in the diary he began

to regard his habit of masturbation as a sign of his unregenerate state.

Although Moody was troubled by many concerns during the early months of 1721, his greatest distress was directly related to his reading of Shepard. One suspects that he read Shepard more often than he recorded in his diary--as we should perhaps assume about other matters he mentioned only occasionally but which appear to have been part of his ongoing experience. When Moody alluded to Shepard, however, it was always to express how Shepard had affected his assessment of the state of his soul and his prospects for salvation. In mid-January he again read in Shepard things that caused him to doubt his salvation, but, as he said, he was unable to "come to conclusions against himself."³

A word of explanation is in order at this point concerning what it was in Shepard's work that raised a question in Moody's mind about his status before God, and what he meant by not being able to draw conclusions, or a judgment, against himself. Moody chose his words carefully and they reveal his understanding of Shepard. Moody used the term "meipse" to express the inner self, in much the same way that Shepard used the word "self" to mean man's inner self, or soul. "'Tis a Rule," said Shepard, "that the saving knowledge of Christ is dependent upon the sensible knowledge of a man's self."⁴ Knowledge of self, for Shepard, was the knowledge that one was utterly devoid of righteousness and worthy only of being damned eternally. In Shepard's preparationist scheme, the

third stage of preparation was complete only when the soul experienced full self-knowledge in utter humiliation, accepting not only the idea that one was worthy to be damned but that one was indeed already damned.

It was this scheme of things that Moody resisted. He saw that there was ample reason to doubt that he was regenerate, but he was unable (*non posse*) to conclude, according to Shepard's logic, and, quite literally, against his own soul (*contra me ipse*), that he was already damned, and that there was no hope of his being redeemed--although he already suspected as much. He wanted to believe there was some hope for him, but the more he read Shepard, the more uncertain he was. He knew that men were saved by the merits of Christ rather than by their own merits and that God's free grace alone could save him; he accepted the doctrine of total depravity and its corollary of human inability. Thus far he was quite willing to go, for even moderates like Brattle held to what was regarded as orthodox Puritan theology on these points. But Shepard had a way of taking men a step beyond Puritan orthodoxy: "Do not think your estates good, because you look only for justification by Christ, and look only to God's free grace, and count on grace in Christ. It is a common error for men . . . only to look for grace in Christ; to think that . . . they are justified by Christ."⁵ The most hidden and admirable delusions of Satan, Shepard declared, are evangelical. "I may look for justification by Christ, and wait for Christ, and yet perish."⁶ It is possible for

one truly to believe, said Shepard, "yet fail of saving faith."⁷ There is no way of demonstrating that Moody read these specific passages on any particular date, of course, but they set forth the core of Shepard's position on the dangers inherent in what he called "evangelical hypocrisy," and that is precisely what troubled Moody so deeply at this point when he wrote that he could not conclude against himself. Although the doubts Shepard had raised for Moody had not yet carried him so far as to conclude that he was indeed an evangelical hypocrite and thus a condemned reprobate, he was clearly in a desperate state of anxiety concerning his soul. He had turned aside Shepard's challenge for the moment, but the confrontation with the possibility of his reprobation had left him shaken and uncertain as to the outcome of his trial of faith: "Oh Jesus, I beseech you, search me, and by [your] will make known to me, I pray, the state of my soul, lest I suffer eternal ruin."⁸ A week later the fearful seeker turned again to Shepard's Parable once again: "I read in Mr. Shepard and almost concluded against myself [that I am damned]. God, I beseech you, let me not deceive myself in a neutral state."⁹

Moody's spiritual crisis rendered him less able to carry on his daily work. He studied less, and wrote less. He became apprehensive and listless. He noted that his attention span was short, and that he rarely felt emotional or spiritual uplift. His doubts about his state continued and although he continued a practice of private prayer he re-

ceived little encouragement from it. By mid-February he admitted that his hope was almost entirely rooted out. He despaired that anything could be done about his soul, which, he felt, was becoming worse and worse. He feared greatly that God had finally forsaken him, a conclusion which he drew from the inner emptiness he felt while preaching. "My heart," he exclaimed, "is undeserving, insensible, and impious!" He saw his failings not only in his inner state but also in his daily work and in his outer relationships and associations. He chided himself for his lack of patience in school, for his hostility toward pious friends whom he envied, and for his inappropriate public displays of hilarity and overconfidence.

Again, in March of 1721, Moody turned to Shepard as a moth to an open flame, and again the weak impressions of spiritual concerns vanished. After reading Shepard with a group of friends he acknowledged: "My hopes have been almost taken away," and the next day, "My hopes have vanished." The burden was becoming unbearable. Some days later he declared that he was in a state of nature, that he had no grace at all. He found his deductions concerning his evil state inescapable, and admitted, "My fears are chilling."

Moody recognized quite clearly the inconstancy of his own mind. He viewed, from day to day, the fluctuations between elation and depression, almost as objectively and as analytically as if he had been describing another person's experience. In late March he observed a remarkable change coming over him. He suddenly lost much of the sense of fear that had troubled

him for some months. Inexplicably he regained, he said, "my well-being, if I may trust my feeling." We recognize, in Moody's experience, the limitation of human nature to endure under constant stress that which can be avoided. Moody, whether he recognized it or not, was simply availing himself of the kind of emotional escape value that nature provides for otherwise healthy minded individuals who put themselves, or find themselves, under stress. He witnessed to what we today recognize as a common defense mechanism against mental and emotional breakdown. He was, so he said, "excessively assured," suddenly very little affected by what he still regarded as his most miserable state. He scarcely thought at all, so he said, about eternal things. In a matter of fact way he concluded that he was in a state of nature, although he continued to refer to his "dreadful" assurance and complacency. These were still signs of his unregenerate state, but now he spoke as if he had become reconciled to his condition. He made far fewer references to his spiritual condition during this period, except to observe his growing indifference to spiritual matters. He noted that he was carried away with pride when he was asked to offer prayer when the court convened at York, and when the judges invited him to dine with them, "because these men of importance have shown me respect." Nevertheless he dreaded the prospect of having the judges in the congregation when he preached.

During the spring and summer of 1721 Moody's mental and spiritual attitude shifted still further toward complacency,

assurance, and indifference to religion, or so he said. He noted this change with some apprehension, for he knew that, according to preparationist theology, such a state of tranquility was a sign of danger to his soul. He knew that in terms of preparationist theology he ought to experience profound anxiety about his soul's destiny, that he ought to be deeply moved by preaching, reading and praying, but he was not. When he observed that "my miserable soul still slumbers" he was no doubt thinking of what Shepard had written about the slumbering virgins, especially those who were unprepared by having no oil in their lamps. But he had laid aside Shepard's book in March and would not take it up again for a year.

Moody's world was transformed in June of 1721 by the arrival of his cousin Mary Hirst in the Moody household. He had known her for some years, and about the sad loss of her parents, having attended her mother's funeral in 1716. Mary was now seventeen years old, twice orphaned, and dependent on the willingness of relatives such as the Moodys to provide for her and her siblings. Within a month she had fallen in love with her cousin Joseph. The story of their deepening involvement, of Moody's break with Lucy White of Gloucester, his betrothed, on her account, of Father Moody's refusal to allow them to marry, of the entrance of Captain William Pepperrell upon the scene as a suitor to Mary Hirst --these are matters of moment to Moody's personal history and deserve the telling in a proper context, but here they merely distract from the subject at hand, Moody's anxious concern for his soul's salvation. We may ob-

serve, however, that with Mary Hirst present Moody gave but slight attention to spiritual matters.

Late in the summer of 1722, after Moody and Lucy were reconciled and Mary Hirst had moved back to Boston, Moody began to address himself once again to preparationist concerns. He reestablished regular devotional practices and sought to abstain from sin by pursuing his meditations more diligently than he had for over a year. Quite eloquently he wrote of his blindness and of the great danger that he should die blind and linger in the blackness of the shadows throughout eternity. His "miraculous" insensibility persisted, and he complained often of his inability to retain his fleeting impressions of things eternal. On one occasion at least he discussed his unconverted state with the Reverend Mr. John White, his future father-in-law, after which he observed that he was more thoughtful than usual. Nevertheless he saw himself as one who was asleep and who would remain asleep for all eternity--language strikingly reminiscent of Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins. Only the freely offered mercy of God, he declared, could make it otherwise. But for him, the hidden, silent God of preparationist theology had not yet intervened on his behalf and might never do so.

As his inner crisis deepened Moody was far from as indifferent to his condition as he at times claimed to be. The picture of Moody walking through the rain-drenched woods at dusk on a November day and kneeling on the soggy ground in thoughtful prayer hardly convinces the reader he is viewing the motions

of one indifferent to his eternal destiny. Moody was living out the routine that he had learned through his long exposure to preparationist theology and practice. The words of Shepard echoed in his mind as he knelt there in the rain: "I see him in the means, but he forsakes me there and I am left of God desolate . . . So the Lord may work it in thee; it is true, also, that he may not."¹⁰

In mid-winter Moody turned once again to Shepard, not seriously now, but half-heartedly, admitting that he was hardly able to read Shepard any more because "for the most part my heart shrinks from him." His aversion to Shepard was not because he had repudiated preparationism. but because he had found Shepard's doctrine of humiliation so unbearable. He could not bring himself to be willing to be damned, even though he suspected that he was. There was the divine decree, absolute and inscrutable--and by it his eternal destiny had been determined from before the world began. But men were not passed over by divine decree, then left to be good or bad as they saw fit. With the decree, predestinarians believed, men had been left powerless to do good, and the discerning eye might see within one's own heart the reasons for God's judgment. Moody, therefore, looked deep within himself to discover if possible the reasons for his failure to attain to saving grace. If there was to be no sign of grace and redemption, there must be a sign of reprobation, some evidence of sin that justified God's righteous judgment upon the sinner. The damning sins that Moody most frequently observed were his enjoyment of

"peace and security" and his inability to feel deeply about spiritual matters.

Moody, however, made the most of opportunities to emphasize those concerns to which he professed to himself indifferent. We catch a glimpse of Moody earnestly catechizing his pupils on the joys of the pious and the fearful death of the impious. We see his pupils listening in rapt attention, for the whole town knew about the violent, prophane and drunken soldier who had been recently struck dead on the spot for his blasphemous defiance of authority. Moody, like other colonial schoolmasters and preachers, made good use of such instances of divine retribution to inspire godly fear in the minds of the audiences. But he took no solace from God's speedy and certain judgment upon the wicked. Rather, he saw it as a portent of a more awesome judgment upon himself, for he, more than most, had benefited all his life from the advantages of godly preaching and counsel and was yet without grace. The judgment upon him would be more severe than upon less fortunate sinners. "I read, I listen, I pray, and I preach about the most important and eternal matters; yet I remain in the state in which I have been for nearly two years," that is, since his first crisis in the winter of 1721. He recognized that he was more serious than he usually was, but he did not appear, as he put it, as one fleeing from the eternal flames. Moody saw the vanity of his pupils and wished that he might somehow bring them to God, as he had hoped to do at the beginning of his teaching career six years before. "But am I

not myself altogether compounded of vanity? Oh that God would work a change in me!" But deep within himself, he did not believe that such a change was to be. Eloquently, agonizingly he surveyed the pit into which his soul was sinking and spoke those words with which we began--words which epitomized the despair and the judgment he felt God had rendered upon him: "I go on without repentance, oppressed by the unutterable burden of the damned."

Still Moody had by no means given up the struggle. Although he had concluded that he was lost and beyond hope, yet the call of duty was still strong. Even though one were to be damned, so preparationists argued, one ought still to obey God as best one could. Thus when, in March, Moody took upon himself certain resolutions, he was completely consistent with preparationist behavior. But there was not hope for him even in his best effort.¹¹ He put the matter concisely: "Now I hope, now I doubt. I leave it with God."¹² Father Moody, sensing his son's dilemma, asked him what he thought about his state.¹³ Moody does not tell us what he told his father, but we may surmise that it was not a direct answer. Moody's deferred conversion was becoming an increasing embarrassment to him. Inwardly, Moody fretted over his lack of sensitivity. "I persist," he complained, "in my accustomed spiritual state; I see nothing, I feel nothing."

Moody's mind ranged from fleeting thoughts of eternity to the troublesome doctrine of personal redemption. Between times he drank beer, contemplated a dying soldier's ignorance

of his lost condition, taught school, visited his neighbors and parishioners, listened to local gossip, and busied himself with town affairs. Once, while returning home, he was frightened by a thunder storm, fearing that he was about to be struck dead by lightning. That night, however, half awake he indulged himself in his habit of masturbation.

The intensity of Moody's spiritual crisis diminished somewhat during the latter part of 1723, but the pattern of alternation between moments of hope and despair persisted. Occasionally we catch a glimpse of Moody reflecting on time and eternity, the world about him, and the relation between his anxiety and his bodily functions. On one occasion, during family prayers, he saw, he said, "eternity, as if in a moment." Occasionally he was moved to tears by some thought or deep emotion--rare experience for Moody. He did not, however, regard such experiences as indications of the Spirit's moving, for he quickly added: "But every feeling of inspiration of mine is fallacious." Moody was not always introspective, but seemed particularly sensitive to nature, as one evening when he observed: "I saw the moon as if encircled by a ring, rising as though supported by it." Not very profound perhaps, but a vivid insight into how the world looked through Moody's eyes. On more than one occasion Moody noted that his anxiety brought on diarrhea.

In his preaching Moody turned again and again to the text of Job 40.4: "Four words only"--"Behold, I am vile!" Even after preaching on this text--or perhaps he believed it

too literally--he "defiled" himself, complaining that his conscience no longer goaded him. Masturbation was for him a manifestation of his "weakness" and now, a sign of his lost condition. The more he masturbated the more he tried to resist the impulse. He congratulated himself when he had abstained for extended periods of time. When he overheard the boys of his school using vulgar language on one occasion, he was aroused and resorted to masturbation. The sight of scantily clad females--with bare arms and undergarments--was sufficient to cause him to indulge in his private sin. He often worried about control of his "unbridled passion," but once, between school sessions, he deliberately relieved himself, "in a manner against my will," to avoid, he said, being troubled by lust inopportunely. Sometimes he resisted at night only to succumb in the morning. Moody saw his weakness as an evident sign of his unregenerate state and his faithful recording of these incidents were, for him, certain indicators that he was far from attaining to the grace he sought.

The final year and a half of the diary are as filled with self-deprecating comments as the earlier years. The difference between this period and the earlier is that Moody was moving in a new direction in his religious quest. He still followed, by and large, the routine of preparatory discipline, but it is clear that he was casting about for an alternative to the preparationist-predestinarian theology on which he had been nurtured, and through which he had sought to resolve his spiritual crisis in the early years of the diary. The most

obvious of these new directions was his interest in Arminianism, which he began to discuss freely with his friend Seth Storer, also a Harvard College graduate. This interest seems to have been kindled by Moody's exposure to the writings of John Checkley, of whom more will be said subsequently. The diary sets the stage for an understanding of the role of Arminianism in Moody's mid-life crisis which is the subject of a later chapter.

The diary stands as Moody's personal and secret testimony that he had not, until the day before his marriage in November of 1724, been converted or found any reason to hope that he might one day attain to saving grace. In fact, he remained convinced to the end of his life that he never would be converted. But Moody was, nevertheless, a devoutly religious person. We ask, then, what does a devoutly religious person who fails to attain to the conversionist standard of his time do about it? The obvious answer is that he finds an alternative that allows him to remain within the community of faith and among the faithful. Moody's solution was the affirmation of a personal covenant which, though it would not be the means of his redemption, would provide a rationale for his continuance in the business and practice of religion.

The year 1723 was critical for him. He was convinced that he was damned, reprobate, with nothing within, no feeling, no assuring responsiveness to things spiritual. But Moody was no atheist, and not about to become one. Perhaps, he thought, behind the inscrutable divine decree there was a provision for

such as himself who had been reared in a religious environment. Were not the promises of God made also to families and to nations (an argument, incidentally, which was used by the Arminians to advantage in their argument against particular election)? If one were not sure of his own election, one might appeal to the mercy of God through the general covenant which He had extended to the visible church. Moody's appeal to the covenant as a basis of hope is as eloquent as his affirmation of despair nine months earlier. It points to a new direction in his understanding of his relationship to God, and helps explain why he continued in the ministry even though he had not had a conversion experience. Moody's experience also helps explain why multitudes of other "unregenerate" Puritans remained faithful to their tradition in spite of their tenuous hold upon it. Nowhere in the diary do we have a clearer, more concise statement of Moody's personal faith:

There remains a kind of enervating anxiety concerning my soul. Oh if God would somehow awaken [me]. I pray you, Lord, that you might remember your covenant sealed with my father and mother and my ancestors, and that you might lead me, a most miserable and insensible sinner, from death to life. Then I will be yours forever, that I may serve your glory. Nothing right, indeed, may I expect to be able to do except in the divine name of Jesus.¹⁴

Had Moody rested his hope of salvation exclusively on the "covenant sealed,"¹⁵ the course of his life and of the diary might have taken quite a different turn. But Moody approached the covenant from the perspective of preparationist theology. From that point of view he understood that the covenant, no matter how ardently believed or affirmed, was not really the same in its effects as saving grace and a regenerating faith.

By virtue of the covenant he could count himself as a member of the visible church, but there must still be a divine act of saving grace to insure his personal redemption, and that act of grace depended upon God's eternal decree.

In the spring of 1724 new opportunities changed the course of Moody's life. The town clerk died, and Moody, because of his clerical skills, was chosen to replace him. With the prospects of a career in public life before him, he gloried in the new prestige he had attained and thought, perhaps, of giving up the ministry. But the greatest prize he had sought had eluded him. John White, whose daughter Lucy he was to marry in the fall, talked with him far into the night, on one occasion, about his spiritual state. "He hopes," Moody wrote, "concerning me that I will be converted."¹⁶ Moody listened in silence as the Reverend Mr. White prayed for his conversion.

During his early months in public office he confessed that he was too much elated with his new position. More and more of his time and energies were taken up with his new duties, which he seems to have enjoyed. God, he declared, is not to be contained nor is he to be discovered in these pleasures. "Oh would that I might know and will to seek [him] where he may be found."¹⁷ These are among the last words he wrote in his diary about the concern--the salvation of his soul--that had been so much at the center of his life for more than four years. The pressures of secular duties, added to his growing responsibilities at the Upper Parish church, left him less and less time and energy to reflect upon the

state of his soul. From the beginning of June, 1724 the entries tend to be shorter, less reflective, and more often in English. More and more he complained that "my hands are full with the new business of my office." He continued to preach, to pray, to study, and to visit the sick and the dying. He continued to weep in private for his sins and lack of faith, but he seems to have given up the quest for an apparently unattainable experience of conversion and saving grace.

Moody did not resolve the matter of his salvation in the course of the diary years. He tried and failed to attain salvation by means prescribed by the preparationists. Only after failing did he turn to alternatives available to him in the intellectual and spiritual currents that were beginning to seep into New England--the crude Arminianism of Checkley, the moderate Calvinism of Richard Baxter, the debate between John Edwards and Daniel Whitby on the merits of Arminianism, the growing tolerance of alien ideas among English Puritans and, among New England Puritans, the transformation of the preparationism of Shepard and Hooker in the Half-Way Covenant and by men like John Norton, Samuel Willard, Cotton Mather, and Solomon Stoddard.

Moody and Lucy White had only twelve short years together before her untimely death in 1736. During that time Moody built a reputation for diligence in public office and achieved a measure of success. The call of the ministry, however, could not be denied and, in 1732, he relinquished his offices to be ordained as pastor of the church and people he

had already served for over a decade. His religious commitment did not solve his spiritual dilemma for--as we shall see--he still retained deep-seated doubts about preparationist-predestinarian theology. Even before his wife's death there were foreshadowings of the mid-life crisis that threw him back into the despair of his early manhood. Her death--we may conjecture--was for Moody the ultimate sign of God's displeasure and of the darkness of dereliction that seemed to be gathering about him.

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

¹ Moody diary manuscript, January 23, 1723: "Nec scio nec (horribile dictu) valde curo quid fiet de animae mea misera. Pergo sine poenitentia infando onera poenatorum oppressus nihil tamen sentio nec ex an[i]mo queror modo res externa bene se[d] habeunt status quidem eo magis horrendus quo manus a[n]imadversus."

² Thomas Shepard, The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied, Being the Substance of diverse Sermons on Matthew 25.1-13 . . . (London, 1660).

³ Moody diary, January 16, 1721: "Legi Dom Shephard et visi causam dubitationis sed non posse contra me ipse concludere. Oh Jesu quaeso scruta me et me volente indica quaeso mihi statum anima mea ne patiam eternam ruinam."--"I read Mr. Shepard and I saw cause for doubting but I was not able to make a final judgment against myself. Oh Jesus, I beseech you, search me and make known to me, by [your] will, I pray, the state of my soul, lest I suffer eternal ruin."

⁴ Shepard, Parable, 76. Compare John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, edited by John T. McNeill, translated and indexed by Ford L. Battles (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1955), I.i.1: "Accordingly, the knowledge of ourselves not only arouses us to seek God, but also, as it were, leads us by the hand to find him."

⁵ John A. Albro, ed., The Works of Thomas Shepard (3 vols., Boston, 1853), II, 196.

⁶ Ibid., 197.

⁷ Ibid., 202.

⁸ See note 3 above.

⁹ Moody diary, January 24, 1721: "Legi in Dom Shephard et propemodum contra me concludebam. Deus, quaeso ne sinas me neutro modo me decipere."

¹⁰ Albro, ed., The Works of Shepard, III, 194, 195.

¹¹ Moody diary, March 10, 1723: "Resolutiones visus sum suscipere. Carent vero timeo radicae."--"I am considering taking up resolutions, but I fear in fact they are cut off at the roots."

¹² Ibid., March 19, 1723: "Nunc spero, nunc dubito. Deo trado."

¹³ Ibid., March 22, 1723: "De opinione mea de meipso rogavit pater."

¹⁴ Ibid., September 10, 1723: "Manet languida quaedam sollicitudo de anima. Quam oh si Deus excitaret ora te Domine ut foederis tui cum patre matrae proavisque pacti recorderis meque peccatorem miserimum stupidissimumque a morte ad vitam duceres. Tuus tum semper ero gloriae tua inserviam. Nil vero nisi Jesu nomine divino jure posse expectare."

¹⁵ The phrase "covenant sealed" indicates that Moody was aware of a Puritan alternative to the preparationist-conversionist approach, and that his appeal to the "covenant sealed" may have been something of a desperation move to assure himself that there was a measure of hope for him. The phrase had a long and significant history in Puritan thought. E. Brooks Holifield, for his important study of the covenant concept The Covenant Sealed (New Haven, 1974), borrowed the title from Thomas Blake's The Covenant Sealed (London, 1655). Holifield describes Blake's position in terms that are strikingly similar to Moody's appeal: "Blake required only that men assent to the gospel, even if their hearts were not drawn to a full and saving choice of Christ. And he added that the basis for the baptism of children was not the faith of their parents but the promise made to their ancestors in the faith. When asked how many generations could give right to baptism, Blake replied that men could go back 'as high as Ancestors have been in Christianity.' . . . Blake joined the ranks of the Reformed theologians who emphasized the 'birth privilege' of infants born within the covenant." (p. 99) See also Holifield's "The Intellectual Sources of Stoddardeanism," New England Quarterly 45, September 1972, 373-392. Holifield argues, contrary to Perry Miller who held that Stoddardeanism was a response to the colonial frontier ["Solomon Stoddard 1643-1729," Harvard Theological Review 34, October 1941, 277-320], that Stoddard's sacramental doctrine was directly appropriated from sixteenth-century German and Swiss theologians and that by elaborating his theological rationale for open admission to the Lord's Supper "he was simply forcing the New England ministers to take seriously an English sacramental debate that they had managed to ignore for three decades." (p. 385)

¹⁶ Moody diary, April 9, 1724: "Vesperī de statu meo cum Dōm White pluribus verbis colloquutus fui. Vult me sperate de me esse convertum et solī precatissimus per os eius quo ego magis serius fui factus."

¹⁷ Ibid., May 18, 1724: "Oh si scirem et vellem quaerere ubi inveniri potest."

CHAPTER V

THE LONG SHADOW OF THOMAS SHEPARD

Joseph Moody's diary, like other introspective diaries, may aptly be described as an extended spiritual "fever chart." The immediate source of the distemper that afflicted Moody was Thomas Shepard as filtered through Samuel Moody's sermonic use of Shepard's preparationist-predestinarian scheme and through Moody's reading of Shepard's published works available to him. The most effective antidotes to the Shepard virus were the writings of Richard Sibbes and Giles Firmin, but there is no evidence that Moody read either during the years of the diary or subsequently. Moody's search for alternatives to the preparationist-predestinarian tradition led him in several directions, but he returned again and again to Shepard despite his aversion to him. Moody was but one of a great multitude of New England Puritans throughout the colonial period upon whom the long shadow of Thomas Shepard fell.

The strength of Shepard's influence was that he set forth a system of theology and religious practice that transfixed the souls of New England Puritans for a hundred years or more. That system became for many the essence of the gospel itself. It was a system with precisely defined steps and stages for the earnest soul to follow. Shepard described his system as four distinct acts of Christ's power. The first act was

conviction of sin that comes upon the soul with the preaching of the law and the condemnation of sinners before the law. In this initial stage, the sinner, any sinner, may experience the terrors of God's judgment and be fearful of being condemned to hell. The second act of Christ's power was called compunction. In that stage the heart of the sinner was stricken with a sense of sin. The sinner was no longer merely afraid of being punished for his sins; he was now grieved by them. Conviction was merely a lighting of the candle, said Shepard, but compunction was like burning one's fingers in the flame. Ministers may conclude that a sinner in the compunction stage is among the elect, but the sinner himself must draw no such conclusion. The third act of Christ's power was the humiliation of the sinner, in which he must see himself so vile as to believe that he is doomed for hell. The elect sinner--for only the elect come this far--must surrender so fully as to acknowledge that he is worthy only of damnation and he must become content with being damned.

The dilemma faced by the prospective saint was whether he was, by his resignation, experiencing the third stage of the preparatory process--humiliation--or whether he was an "evangelical" or "gospel" hypocrite deceiving his own soul. Michael McGiffert has observed that "In reality, this notion of evangelical hypocrisy, pressed to its logical conclusion, had desperate consequences: it made hypocritical one's perception of one's own hypocrisy and so destroyed the cognitive basis of assurance."¹

The effects of Shepard's preaching and writing are well established. Nathanael Ward, pastor at Ipswich, had written to his son-in-law Giles Firmin, prior to his own return to England in 1646, that "When Mr. Shepard comes to deal with hypocrites, he cuts so desperately, that men know not how to bear him; he makes them afraid they are all hypocrites."² Firmin, whose Real Christian was a forceful indictment of Shepard's preparationism, offered the most extensive criticism of Shepard's views of any contemporary, citing several cases in which Shepard's preparationism caused great anxiety on the part of those who sought to find grace through the system of theology he advocated. Criticism and defense of preparationism seems to have fallen along the lines of family relationships, for Firmin directed much of his attack at Thomas Hooker, Shepard's father-in-law, who, according to Firmin, held that "the Heart truly abased is content to bear the Estate of Damnation."

Firmin argued that the extreme form of humiliation required by the Hooker-Shepard system was not in fact necessary for a sinner to become converted, and that such a requirement kept many earnest souls from claiming the assurance of faith which was rightfully theirs. He regarded a protracted preparatory process as more likely to lead to discouragement than to conversion. Firmin saw great danger in their insistence on the preparationist model of conversion experience, and he perceptively observed that the insistence on "legal terrors, deep sorrows and humblings" as "the common road through which

men must go that come to Christ" kept many from conversion because most were unable to duplicate the experience of others in their own search for God and self.

The Shepard preparationist model of conversion experience, however, came to dominate the New England religious scene. It was not the Puritan notion of "owning the covenant" that brought forth from the New England psyche "a dark cry for satisfactions which, in the Puritan tradition, had not been recognized and certainly not provided for,"³ but the stringent demands of preparationist theology. In the 1730s and 1740s it would drive multitudes of New Englanders into the arms of itinerant revivalists and others into despair or indifference. Shepard's bequest to subsequent generations of New England Puritans was not a device for affirming human capacity or free will or a means of achieving "a public purgation of conscience," but an awesome fear that even the best efforts of the preparing soul might lead to the dark fires of an eternal and unrelenting torment of the damned.

So complete was Shepard's dominance of New England Puritanism that many modern scholars look upon his thought and writings as the primary model of Puritan piety. Thus Michael McGiffert asserts that "few writers admit the modern reader so directly to the heart of a Puritan as do the Autobiography and Journal of Thomas Shepard."⁴ There were, of course, other models of piety within Puritan orthodoxy, but even the most strongly stated of these invariably made reference to Shepard's preparationism.

McGiffert describes Shepard's own inner life as anxious, insecure, and full of terror. "Though apparently utterly eligible for heaven, Shepard suffered privately the anticipatory torments of the damned."⁵ What Shepard saw as his greatest danger he projected onto those about him who seemed assured of their salvation. These "gospel" or "evangelical" hypocrites, as he called them, were not sly imposters but "innocent ones, who quite unconscious of their own fraudulence, deceive others unwittingly because they are 'close deceivers of their own souls'."⁶ McGiffert observes that in his Journal "Shepard's suspicions of his own evangelical hypocrisy run like threads of fire." Shepard's contribution to New England Puritanism was to make a "faith" of doubt and to encourage a state of perpetual anxiety in those who adhered to his preparationist system.

Moody, of course, had no access to Shepard's private writings until the publication of Shepard's Journal by Thomas Prince. But Moody read and reread Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins as well as other of his works. It is in the writings of Shepard, then, that we can look for clues to the causes of Moody's religious anxiety.

The ten virgins of the biblical parable, Matthew 25.1-13, according to Shepard, were persons in preparation, "waiting for Christ in a Covenant of grace."⁷ All had been awakened out of carnal security and were members of the visible church. They were all "virgin professors," uncorrupted by association with degenerate churches. They were all preparing for the

coming of the Bridegroom, which meant that their faith included an expectation of Christ's return. Moody correctly understood Shepard on this point, as is evident by his diary entry for November 19, 1720, when he noted that he had been affected by reading Shepard concerning preparation for the coming of Christ.⁸ The return of Christ was the central concern of the true church, according to Shepard, which must be a pure church composed of "visible saints, visible believers, virgins espoused to Christ, escaping the pollutions of idolatry and the world."⁹

In order to make clear what Shepard understood the visible church to be, we take a sidelong glance at his posthumously published work, The Church Membership of Children, and Their Right to Baptism.¹⁰ Shepard elaborated the concept of a double covenant, inward and external, to counter objections against the membership of children and the covenant interest of children in the visible church. Although many who were in the external or outward covenant were in fact children of the devil, Shepard allowed, there were nevertheless certain benefits conferred by it: "They may not be his Sons, and people really, and savingly, but God will Honour outwardly (at least) with this name, and privilege . . . to be reckoned as of the number of his visible Church and People."¹¹ By this special status they enjoyed certain benefits such as the remission of sins, the hearing of the word, being subject to the promises, and included in the covenant and the ordinary means of grace. There was no promise at all to those outside the visible church. Shepard clearly intended church membership to be part of the

process for preparation for grace. The promise of the covenant "belongs indefinitely" to those in the visible church among whom God works His secret mercy on whom He will.

But to be a "virgin professor," that is, a visible saint in a pure and Reformed church, was no guarantee that salvation was in the offing. Even though Shepard declared that "not one soul that hears me this day but the Lord Jesus is suitor unto . . . In this evangelical dispensation of grace, he makes love to all," he did not intend to suggest that all who heard would in fact be saved. Shepard held to the doctrine of limited atonement, and in this respect was consistently Calvinistic. The issue rested on the doctrine of election, of course, but for Shepard it was not enough to settle on this doctrine, or to exert oneself in the use of means. God gives a certain native power of good to man, but self-love nullifies the value of this for obtaining salvation.

Moody had much more than a passing interest in Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins. At the age of eleven he had been sent to school in Cambridge by his father that he might be better prepared to enter Harvard College, presumably because Master Freeman, the schoolmaster in York, was not equipped for the task of training his more likely charges in the subtleties of Latin grammar, a knowledge of which was necessary before admission to Harvard in those days. It is evident from the diary that Moody did not regard the old schoolmaster with any degree of affection, and a subsequent letter to Nathan Prince

shows that he himself regarded the instruction of alphabetarians as a demeaning task.

The manner in which Moody referred, in a 1718 letter to Prince, to his going to Cambridge seven years before indicates that he regarded the event as very special for him, if not the turning point of his life. While in Cambridge he attended Shepard's old church, then under the pastorate of William Brattle who had received his bachelor of arts degree from Harvard in 1680 and was the first recipient of a theological degree (*scientiae theologiae baccalaureus*), first awarded by Harvard in 1692. Throughout his career Brattle was closely associated with Harvard, as a tutor and fellow during Moody's years there, and as an author of a textbook on logic used at the college. Moody joined the Cambridge church while at the college and it may be assumed that, like Edwards of Yale some years later, the young scholar would have been curious about "the preparatory work, of which the divines speak." When Moody also became aware that he had not "experienced conversion on those particular steps, wherein the people of New England, and anciently the Dissenters of Old England, used to experience it,"¹² he began a quest for assurance which led, for him, as we have seen, to fearful conclusions regarding his hope for salvation. Jonathan Edwards's reaction to Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins is well documented in his Religious Affections, published in 1746.¹³ Moody's reaction is documented in his diary, written over a quarter of a century earlier.

The Parable of the Ten Virgins¹⁴ was first published in

1660 from Shepard's notes by Jonathan Mitchell, his successor at the Cambridge church, and by Shepard's son, Thomas Shepard, Jr. The original sermons were preached between June 1636 and May 1638 and were directly related to the issue that surfaced in the Antinomian Controversy of 1636-1638. But the preparationist theology set forth in the sermons to counter the apparent pernicious effects of antinomianism was to persist long after the antinomianism of Anne Hutchinson has ceased to be a viable option for New England Puritans. Shepard's theological perspective addressed the religious concerns of generations of Puritans for whom the issues of the 1630s were no longer relevant or clearly understood. Moody's immediate concern was his personal salvation, and by rigorously applying Shepard's preparationist theology to his own situation, he, in effect, was borrowing categories from a by-gone era. Shepard's emphasis in The Parable of the Ten Virgins was Christ's coming in judgment at the end of the age. That judgment was to be a judgment upon the church, particularly upon that "great part" of the visible church that would not really be prepared for His coming. The individual would, of course, be judged, but only as subsumed under one or the other of the divisions of "virgin professors." The biblical parable, according to Shepard, does not apply to mankind in general, but only to those within the "pure" or evangelical churches. Similarly, the Second Coming of Christ was exclusively for their benefit and was perceived by Shepard to be one with the on-going experience of the church, or the people of God, in sacramental ob-

servance, prayer, sabbath-keeping, and the means of grace in general.¹⁵

Jonathan Mitchell (1624-1668), who wrote the preface to The Parable declared that "God had laid it out so" that the preparationist model is the way of the gospel, the true middle way between the legalists and the antinomians. He expressed the hope that The Parable would be "of living, awakening and soul-instructing use (to the churches) unto many generations!" Shepard's Parable and other writings have remained of interest not only to Puritan scholars but also to modern evangelicals, who still on occasion published abridged editions of his writings.

Shepard began his series of sermons on The Parable of the Ten Virgins with a careful exegesis of the Gospel of Matthew, chapters 24 and 25. He observed that at the time of Christ marriages were celebrated at night, and that the bride was attended by virgins who, together with the bride, went out to meet the bridegroom when he came for her. Shepard argued that it was important to note carefully the historical background of the parable, which modern biblical scholarship refers to as sitz im leben, the life-situation. Shepard's primary interest, however, was in the application of the biblical parable to the present and future situation of the church at the time of the return of Christ. The world and the church would be very sensual and degenerate; great security (over confidence) would prevail among the chaste, pure churches of the

world; and there would be willful carelessness among those actually awakened to an awareness of Christ's call to them.

Given Christ's inevitable coming, the church, if it were to be ready for the day, must prepare--such was Shepard's message. The place where the preparation was to be made was the Kingdom of Heaven, which is where the gospel is truly preached. Those who prepare themselves are not "corrupted Members of degenerate Churches," but rather "Professors of some eminent strain." Yet only some are sincere while others are secretly unsound. All are "Virgin Professors" who have faith in the return of Christ, who believe in and expect His coming, and are, at least for a while, awake and watchful. But some are "foolish," taking only lamps (marks of outward profession) to greet the Bridegroom, yet forgetting to take oil for their lamps (true faith).

The visible church of God on earth is "the very Glory of Heaven begun." and those in the church should act as if they were already in heaven. Yet there is danger, Shepard declared, that the Kingdom of Heaven may be pulled down by men. "Church infirmities" and "church sins" must be dealt with and put away.

In the first three chapters of The Parable Shepard set forth the nature of the church and the relationship of the church to Christ's return. But in the fourth chapter he made a transition from the concerns of the church to the concerns of the individual. At the same time, he shifted from the historical interpretation he had set forth in the first chapter

to what may be called a "spiritual" interpretation. In this hermeneutical shift, the attending virgins become synonymous with the bride. They are no longer merely waiting for the coming of the bridegroom; they are the bride herself, to be "matcht only to Christ." Shepard here was expounding the journey of the soul to God. The individual first must see himself as married to the law, then divorced from the law and married to Christ. Shepard invoked both the image of the adulterous wife of Hosea and that of the virgin bride of Canticles to make his point.

Shepard nevertheless found a place for the law in the life of the believer. Although the believer must become dead to the law, Shepard asserted, "do not think I speak against all evidencing your estates from conformity to the Law."¹⁶ This had been a key issue in the Antinomian Controversy and the basis of the charge that Shepard and the elders preached a covenant of works. Shepard defended against Cotton's accusation that he was using sanctification as evidence of justification¹⁷ by insisting that "obedience to the Law done by the power of Christ is an evangelical work, but to perform any evangelical work from man's self [alone], is a Legal work."¹⁸ By this means, Shepard could retain the law as an aspect of the gospel, and at the same time make the gospel function as the law in the judgment of sinners.

The Lord's "plot" in saving His people was, for Shepard, a matter of making them seek for help outside themselves in another, that is to say, in Christ. The design of preparation,

therefore, was not to provide a means of grace or of salvation for the sinner, but rather to make him realize that he had no power in himself at all, and that he must turn completely to Christ to be saved. Only complete spiritual bankruptcy would cause the sinner to turn to Christ. Hence the purpose of preparation was not to help men to lay hold of the means of grace, but to drive them to despair, and to force them, through humiliation, to surrender and turn to Christ. Shepard made it clear that preparation in itself had no value for saving the soul. If one were to believe that preparatory exercises or the use of the means of grace would save him, then all would be lost, for every human effort was tainted with self-interest.

In a passage that seems to contradict his journal, Shepard declared that it is not mourning for want of grace or for righteousness that makes grace effectual but mourning for want of Christ.¹⁹ Feeling grief for sin is not enough either; such feelings may simply be an unholy desire to establish one's own righteousness or to overcome sin by one's own strength.

Not only God, but Arminians also, Shepard declared, have great plots. Arminians seek "to make Christ a means only, to make every man a first Adam." The first Adam, in Shepard's view, was the only man of all men to have free will. The Arminians grant, said Shepard, that men do not have grace by nature,²⁰ and that all grace comes from Christ. But, he declared, the Arminians "make the Lord a Merchant for your ends," allowing men, as it were, to bargain with God. Christ is more than a means to the believer; man does not have free will; and no man

may bargain with God in the matter of grace. One who is truly regenerate may only rejoice in grace received and in what God has done for him.

Fear and terror of conscience, according to Shepard, are a sign that one is still married to the law. Those who fear for their estates are probably not yet regenerate. To be willing to be tried is therefore a good sign. But the effect of Shepard's message was to encourage the fear and terror of conscience that made the conscientious soul conclude, against himself, that he was already damned.

Shepard described six signs as indicative of the presence or absence of grace: 1) Whether or not the law is dead to the individual, 2) whether or not the seeker desires only Christ, and not merely righteousness, 3) whether one rejoices in Christ and His grace, 4) whether one performs duties to ease the conscience, 5) whether one turns again to sin after making strong resolutions against it, and 6) whether one is willing to be tried by God.

The sixth chapter of Shepard's Parable is an extended argument "to persuade us unto the Love of Christ, and to be Espoused to Him." The argument revolves around consideration of the nature and glory of Christ. The relationship of the believer to Christ is that of a woman to her husband. Christ "makes love to thee" and expects that love to be reciprocated. Shepard's description of the relationship was set forth in such intensely personal terms as to come close to the notion of a mystical union of the soul with God, something much more than simple contemplation of the indwelling Spirit. The unit-

ing of the soul with Christ, the Bridegroom, was to take place at different levels of experience and at different points in time. The soul and body of the saint were to meet the Lord in the clouds on His return at the Last Day. Shepard retained the eschatological dimension of faith throughout the Parable. He also saw the possibility of the soul going out of the body by "angelic ministry" to meet the Lord in heaven while the body was still alive on earth. This comes very close to the experience of special revelation the validity of which Shepard denied to Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomians. McGiffert notes that Shepard consistently set mystical passion above and against the claims of discursive reason,²¹ an aspect of Shepard's preparationist theology that has not hitherto been adequately considered. According to McGiffert, Shepard distrusted rational grounds as a basis for assurance. The third level of the union between Christ and the soul was when the soul went out of itself by faith. But at this level there was, for Shepard, a distinct difference from the previous level in the operation of the relationship between the intellect and the will. "The mind sees, affections make after him, will fastens him, and there depends."²²

Shepard made clear that, at this third level at least, the first work of faith was intellectual apprehension. But this was by no means a sudden or instantaneous closing with Christ by action of the Spirit. The "Virgin Professors," even those who would later prove to be foolish ones, were already espoused to Christ by faith. They were in preparation by virtue of obtaining lamps--and, indeed, Shepard spoke of a kind of "faith

before faith," in which the soul goes to Christ for justification before conversion actually takes place.²³ The soul goes out a second time "by some special acts of Faith," in which the virgin soul is espoused to Christ, the Bridegroom, in marriage.²⁴ Thus the redemption of the soul was perceived by Shepard to be a protracted experience of preparation, concluding in the death of the visible saint or in the Second Coming of Christ. It is important to keep in mind, as Pfisterer points out, that Shepard's emphasis was on the eschatological.²⁵ New England churches were to be pure churches, but that did not mean that they had attained perfection. Thus the dead hand of the law, from which the true saint was delivered by grace, still provided the best guide to moral behavior in this world, a device by which behavior could be measured and controlled. Behind the device, however, was the tacit acknowledgment that Christ had fulfilled the law, not abrogated it. That Shepard had more in mind than merely the redemption of individuals is seen in the emphasis he placed on the restoration of all true churches, Jew as well as gentile. He perceived this restoration, however, in terms of local congregations rather than the restoration of the church universal, for only local churches where the gospel was preached could be "pure" churches, from Shepard's point of view.

Shepard, as we have seen, saw the greatest danger to the churches in the presence of those who were "Evangelical," or "Gospel Hypocrites." There was no way these could be

barred from the church if the gospel was to be offered to all men. Many would give assent to the gospel in what they themselves believed to be a sincere faith, but secretly their motives would not be true; they would profess Christ out of fear for themselves rather than for love of Christ. Indeed, some might truly believe yet fail of saving faith. Shepard was not the only one in New England who had seen the danger of hypocrisy in the churches. John Cotton described church hypocrites as washed swine and goats, the latter being the more difficult to identify. The difference between Shepard and Cotton on the recognition of hypocrites was that Cotton laid down the criteria for discerning hypocrisy in others and Shepard required the individual to test himself. Another way of stating the difference between Shepard and Cotton is that Cotton advocated a church of pure, godly members from among who hypocrites were to be excluded while Shepard saw the purity of a church not in the spiritual state of its individual members but in the faithful proclamation of the gospel. The individual church member needed to measure himself by that standard to determine the sincerity of his own faith.

McGiffert has observed that Shepard's Parable is the most penetrating treatment of hypocrisy to be found in the writings of the founding generation of New England.²⁶ That Shepard felt the necessity to warn against hypocrisy was bound up with his commitment to preparationist theology because, from his point of view, preparationism was the best antidote to hypocrisy. While Cotton spoke of hypocrites as

if they were not present in the church, although he acknowledged that they might be, Shepard's sermons were addressed to those before him who might not yet have discerned their own hypocrisy. Indeed, as McGiffert has noted, Shepard's journal shows that he was suspicious of his own evangelical hypocrisy.²⁷ Like Jonathan Edwards, who saw himself first of all in the image of the glowing spider, Shepard saw that the judgment which begins at the house of God must begin in his own heart: "I may look for justification by Christ, and wait for Christ, and yet perish."²⁸ One suspects that the objections Shepard set forth against preparation of the soul were first his own. To the objection that faith can be attained more directly by seeing the vileness of one's sins and turning immediately to Christ rather than by lifelong preparation, Shepard replied: "Thou maist taste and joy, and yet fall off at last." And those who claimed that they had fellowship with "the Lord Jesus," Shepard again rebuffed: "Thou maist eat and drink in his presence, and yet he bid Depart, I know you not, a worker of iniquity."

It was not necessary to prove deceit or deficiency in the work of salvation. "Evangelical work which is accompanied with Salvation in some, it may be Hypocritical in thee." To look for Christ, to wait for him, and to desire him" was not enough, for "thy Trust may be presumption." Confidence in God's free grace should not be mistaken for the work of grace. The most hidden and admirable delusions of Satan, Shepard declared, are evangelical.

A careful reading of Shepard's Parable is essential to an understanding of the Moody diary and the concerns that troubled the diarist. Diary entries that are ambiguous or nearly incomprehensible taken by themselves are illuminated by association with key passages in Shepard. But the relationship is even more direct as revealed by the diarist's own words. The second day after beginning his reading of Shepard's Parable Moody acknowledged that he had been affected by the divine's words on preparation for the coming of Christ. On the third day he confessed: "I thought Christ's love would be enough happiness for me, but doubted . . . and [then] hoped again."²⁹ Moody's troubled concern for the state of his soul was aggravated as the Parable effectively undercut his confidence in his good estate. A poignant example of Shepard's impact on Moody's religious sensibilities is seen in a comparison of diary and divine. Thus Shepard commented on "the unpardonable sin" and the danger of false or inadequate faith: "Many a man laies claim to Christ and his blood, and righteousness, that never knew the worth of it . . ."³⁰ And Moody, on December 4, 1720, still working his way through Shepard's Parable wrote: "I am well-nigh condemned because I never saw the worth of the blood of Christ."

Certain terms of self-negation, moreover, take on more significance when they are seen as reflections of Shepard's influence on Moody's thought. Among the more frequent terms Moody used to describe his state were "derelictus" (deserted), "stupidissimus" (most insensible), "securus" (secure, that is,

over confident), and "non sedulus" (not diligent, not persistent, or, perhaps he meant, not prepared). A word that appears frequently in association with Moody's reading of Shepard's Parable is the word "sleep." Shepard addressed the subject of carnal security of virgin churches in the second half of his Parable. The spirit of sloth and security, he said, is the last sin that befalls the people of God, and it is characterized by him as the sleep of the virgins while the Bridegroom tarries. In this sleep of carnal security men experience a time of forgetfulness of divine duties. They lose their fear of evil, and, as in natural sleep, their senses are "bound up" and "stupefied," and prayer ceases.

In sleep the senses being stupefied, and motion ceased, a man falls a dreaming; some dreams he forgets, some he remembers, and in his sleep fully and firmly believes them; so in carnal security; now a man's mind dreams of that which is not, and of that which shall never be.³¹

"Dreams of that which is not, and of that which shall never be": Shepard meant the dreams of salvation that some men have that shall be denied them. Shepard spoke eloquently of dreams and sleeping men, of drunken dreams of human fancy and devising, of golden dreams of grace which never comes. He was, of course, addressing a New England hag-ridden by the Antinomian Controversy. "Is there," he exclaimed, "no promise to evidence grace; no Law to be a Rule to them that have received grace; Who would think that ever any should so fall by a simple woman?"³²

Moody, however, was preoccupied with the state of his own soul, not the Antinomian Controversy, and his reading of Shepard's Parable must be understood in the light of his per-

sonal concern. From the time he began reading the Parable in November 1720 he returned to it again and again over the next two years. Shepard was more important to him and more frequently read by him than any other author. By June 1721 he began making references in his diary to sleeping and being awakened in describing his inward state, indicating the impact of the second part of the Parable on his understanding of his religious experience. He applied Shepard's characterization of the carnal security of the churches as the sleep of the virgins to his own personal situation. Moody was highly sensitive to the suggestions of others, even when those suggestions came to him through what he read. Shepard had asserted, much to Moody's discomfort, that carnal security comes by degrees. Like the virgins of the Parable, men slumber before they sleep. To slumber is to be secure and to sleep is to be in mortal danger. God does not depart from men except by degrees. Such spiritual quickening as men sometimes experience without attaining full regeneration, Shepard warned, is only a temporary rousing between slumbers, after which men fall more deeply again into sleep.

Moody appears to have become convinced during the last six months of the twenty-five month period over which he read Shepard's Parable that he himself was living out the destiny of the foolish virgins. He complained that he lived and acted as one blind, and that unless God should open his eyes, he would "die blind and linger in the blackness of the shadows throughout eternity." Six weeks before he laid aside Shepard's

Parable for the last time, Moody pled the hardness and indifference of his heart in terms strikingly similar to Shepard's description of the plight of the church at the coming of Christ in judgment:

The glory of Christ and the eternal salvation of my soul move me not. I am asleep and I shall remain asleep. I see nothing but that it may be always thus throughout eternity, unless God's free mercy to me shall prevent it.³³

But the freely offered mercy of God was, for one who regarded Shepard as the ultimate authority in such matters, available only by way of preparation, and preparation meant, among other things, that he who would be saved must first be willing to be damned, and to be content with such a fate. Moody shrank from this implication of Shepard's preparationist theology but was unable to escape from it, continuing to hope for a conversion experience that never came, as we have seen.

R. W. B. Lewis attributes to Hawthorne the recognition of "a region of horror that seems, to the inward traveler, 'like hell itself,' and through which the self wanders without hope."³⁴ "But," Lewis adds, "there is more too, much more, than the darkness, the monsters, and the divers shapes which tormented the souls of the lost and guilty--Mr. Hooper behind his black veil." There is indeed more when we know that behind Hawthorne's Reverend Mr. Hooper there was Joseph Moody,³⁵ across whose mind and heart fell the long shadow of Thomas Shepard.

And perhaps the experience of Moody was not so provincial, so exceptional, so remote as one might at first suppose,

but that it shares a universal kinship with those who learn
at last that the God they seek is "Deus absconditus."

Was I sleeping, while the others suffered? Am I sleeping
now? Tomorrow, when I wake, or think I do, what shall
I say of today? That with Estragon my friend, at this
place, until the fall of night, I waited for Godot.³⁶

NOTES: CHAPTER V

¹ Michael McGiffert, ed., God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography and Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, Massachusetts, 1972), 18.

² Quoted in John A. Albro, "The Life of Thomas Shepard," The Works of Thomas Shepard, ed. by John A. Albro (Boston, 1853), I, clxxxv.

³ Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1959), 143.

⁴ McGiffert, ed., God's Plot, 3.

⁵ Ibid., 10. Cf. Shepard's Journal, ibid., 185.

⁶ Ibid., 17. Albro, ed., Works of Shepard, II, 158. "The Parable of the Ten Virgins," sermons based on Matthew 25.

⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁸ Moody diary manuscript, November 19, 1720: "Affectus legendo Shepherd de preparatione pro Christi adventu."

⁹ Albro, ed., Works of Shepard, II, 26.

¹⁰ Thomas Shepard, The Church Membership of Children, and Their Right to Baptism (Boston, 1663).

¹¹ Ibid., 3.

¹² For Jonathan Edwards's early reaction to "preparatory work," see Edwards's "Diary," December 18, 1722, in Sereno E. Dwight, ed., The Life of President Edwards (New York, 1830), 76.

¹³ Jonathan Edwards, Religious Affections, ed. by John E. Smith (New Haven, 1959), passim (see index, "Shepard, Thomas").

¹⁴ Thomas Shepard, The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied (London, 1660).

¹⁵ Karl D. Pfisterer, The Prism of Scripture: Studies in History and Historicity in the Work of Jonathan Edwards (Bern, Switzerland, 1975), 106-107.

¹⁶ Shepard, Parable, Part I, 18.

¹⁷ Perry Miller and Thomas Johnson, eds., The Puritans, I, 316. Cotton probably had Shepard in mind when he declared, "Truly it is hard to perceive when men differ, and therefore it is not an easie matter to make such use of Sanctification, as by it to beare witness unto Justification."

¹⁸ Shepard, Parable, Part I, 18.

¹⁹ Cf. Shepard's Journal, December 7, 1642, in McGiffert, ed., God's Plot, 198, with Shepard, Parable, Part I, 18.

²⁰ Shepard was referring to an earlier form of Arminianism; later Arminianism, like Pelagianism, attributed a measure of grace to human nature. For Arminius's view of the nature of sin and grace, see his repudiation of Pelagianism in his essay, "A Dissertation on . . . The Seventh Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans," in James Arminius, The Writings of James Arminius, transl. by James Nichols and W. R. Bagnall (3 vols., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1977 [1853], II, 388-404.

²¹ McGiffert, ed., God's Plot, 27.

²² Ibid., 68.

²³ Thomas Shepard, The Sound Believer (Boston, 1736), 80-83. See Chapter XII below, note 19.

²⁴ This may be a clue to what Shepard, Edwards, and other Puritans meant by their distinction between "first" and "second" conversion.

²⁵ Pfisterer, Prism of Scripture, 119.

²⁶ McGiffert, ed., God's Plot, 17.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Albro, ed., Works of Shepard, II, 197.

²⁹ Moody diary ms., November 20, 1720: "Putavi Christi amorem fore mihi satis felicitatis sed dubitavi . . . et speravi iterum."

³⁰ Shepard, Parable, Part I, 128.

³¹ Ibid., Part II, 5.

³² Ibid., 7.

³³ Moody diary ms., October 30, 1722: "Gloria Christi et anima mea salus aeterna nihil me movent. Dormio et dormiturus sum. Nil video quin in aeternum ita futur[u]m sit ni Dei miserecordia [sic] gratuita mihi obstaret."

³⁴ R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago, 1955), 116.

³⁵ Joseph Moody was the inspiration for Hawthorne's "veiled parson," as noted in Chapter I, note 1. Nearly twenty years after Hawthorne published his famous short story, "The Minister's Black Veil," he still retained some of his youthful impressions of the person behind the story. One of the principal characters of his Blithedale Romance (1852) is one "Old Moodie," who slides in and out of the novel in a ghost-like manner and is marked by the eccentricity of hiding himself behind a patch on his left eye. Richard H. Fogle has observed that "Mr. Hooper must have had somewhat the same view of the world from behind his black veil, and indeed the two men's names have a vague resemblance." Richard Fogle, Hawthorne's Imagery: The "Proper Light and Shadow" in the Major Romances (Norman, Oklahoma, 1969), 99. The fact that Hooper and Old Moodie bear little resemblance to each other in other respects does not disqualify the conjecture that Hawthorne had Joseph Moody in mind when sketching both these characters. J. Golden Taylor calls attention to a characteristic of Hawthorne in using the same historical person in diametrically opposite roles in different stories. J. Golden Taylor, Hawthorne's Ambivalence Toward Puritanism (Logan, Utah, Monograph Series, July 1965), 1. Hawthorne's Old Moodie, like his Reverend Mr. Hooper, was for Hawthorne an allegorical and symbolic representation of Puritan character as he perceived it. The legend of "Handkerchief Moody" shaped his literary vision of Puritanism, even though the setting of The Blithedale Romance is the nineteenth century. Hawthorne was at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, when Jonathan Greenleaf published his Ecclesiastical Sketches of Maine Clergy (Portland, Maine, 1821). Greenleaf had given the Moody diary to William Allen, who was then President of Bowdoin. It is possible, then, that Hawthorne knew about and even had access

to the Moody diary. For background , see Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Blithedale Romance, Introduction by Arlin Turner (New York, 1958) and Henry G. Fairbanks, The Lasting Loneliness of Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Study of the Sources of Alienation in Modern Man (Albany, New York, 1965).

³⁶ Samuel Beckett, Waiting for Godot in Seven Plays of the Modern Theater (New York, 1962), 78.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSFORMATION OF PREPARATIONIST THEOLOGY

Moody lived in a society that had inherited the preparationist tradition from New England's founding fathers. Preparation was still strongly held among many in New England up to and even after the Great Awakening. But there were a number of variations to Shepard's version as well as alternatives such as Cotton Mather's evangelical piety.

Human initiative was never really under consideration in any variation of the process of preparation for the effectiveness of preparation ultimately rested on God's predestination of the soul for salvation rather than on the preparatory process itself. It was, indeed, a kind of "waiting for Godot," with the knowledge that while a promise had been made, one could never be quite sure that the promise applied to oneself as an individual.

Before the Great Awakening one could never claim Christ as his "personal" savior and remain in the good graces of Puritan orthodoxy. After the Great Awakening broke over New England less radical evangelicals such as Jonathan Edwards and David Brainerd still insisted that one ought not to claim too much for one's self. To say that God saves sinners was not the same as to say that God has saved me, even though I acknowledge myself to be a sinner. Shepard's notion of the dangers of presumptuous claims to grace lingered long after men and women

began enjoying spiritual ecstasy en masse, but the strength of the idea was greatly reduced by Great Awakening revivalism.

Preparation for salvation was a complicated matter in early New England, and because of its complexity a wide range of alternatives and variations proliferated from the time of the founding fathers. Moody was exposed to several of these variations and alternatives but, more importantly, he drank directly from the fountain--from the writings of Shepard himself. The complex of ideas and systems with which Moody was in contact suggests the ideological changes between the New England of the Antinomian Controversy--Shepard's New England--and Moody's New England.

Moody, as we have seen, had been well indoctrinated in a variation of preparationist-predestinarian theology by his father from his earliest years. As a young lad he had gone to Cambridge for a grammar school education that would prepare him for Harvard College. He sat under the preaching of William Brattle in Shepard's old church, which he joined sometime during his college years. Brattle, like Benjamin Colman who in later life would be a friend in need for Moody, was something of an ecclesiastical maverick. By the time Moody joined the Cambridge church, Brattle in Cambridge and Colman in Boston had long since relaxed the standards of church membership. Increase Mather in 1700¹ characterized Colman's Brattle Street Church, and presumably the Cambridge church as well, as among those that failed "to Enquire into the Regeneration of those whom they admit unto their Communion."² Mather's

charges generally applied to Stoddardeanism rampant in the far off Connecticut River Valley, but in this particular tract--Order of the Gospel--he had closer adversaries in mind. The anonymous reply, Gospel Order Revived, appears to have been the work of Colman, Simon Bradstreet of Charlestown, John Woodbridge of West Springfield, and possibly William Brattle.³ The viewpoint represented by this dissident group was spreading rapidly in the Boston area, and to meet the threat of the gathering of still another church of likeminded souls, Mather instigated a ministerial convention which voted to republish the Propositions concerning the Subject of Baptism and Consociation of Churches propounded by the Synod of 1662. Mather's purpose was to rally support in opposition to the gathering of new churches without the consent of other churches.

Moody had been nurtured on terror by his father's preaching--itself strongly influenced by Shepard's preparationist theology. There was one point, however, on which the elder Moody departed from Shepard. Samuel Moody allowed and encouraged children under fourteen years of age to receive communion, a point noted in chapter one. Shepard and the Synod of 1662 had made provision for children to become members of a church by virtue of baptism but had denied them the right to the communion table until, as adults, they had made a profession of faith and of regenerating conversion.

Moody, who had received communion in his father's church as a child, was received into membership in the Cambridge church by Brattle without making a relation of a conversion experience

and, as a full member, was granted the right to receive communion. Under the decisions of 1657 and 1662, the so-called "Half-Way Covenant," Moody would have been regarded, without having given a relation of conversion experience, simply as a member of the visible church and not as a regenerate soul who had received an effective call, so he consequently would have been excluded from communion.

When Moody became aware of Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins late in 1720 he understood for the first time the implications of the doctrine of the two covenants. To be sure, he had heard his father's sermon on The Children of the Covenant, but he had not fully understood that the external covenant, as defined by Shepard and the Synod of 1662, was simply a badge of identification of unregenerate visible saints for the benefit of preparationist preachers. The Assembly of 1657 had followed the guideline set forth in Shepard's Church Membership of Children, and Nathanael Mather had caught the spirit of the 1657 Disputation Concerning Church Members and their Children when he, in his preface to that work, delivered a parting shot against Giles Firmin who had inveighed against Shepard's preparationist theology from the vantage point of old England. Although Richard Mather was the author of the official result of the Assembly of 1657, its theological and ecclesiological inspiration came from Shepard.

The groundwork for the Half-Way Covenant was, in fact, laid by Shepard and the other preparationists. Church membership under the external covenant was perceived to be part of

the process of preparation and it afforded the preparationist preacher a regular opportunity (church attendance was required by law) to address an unregenerate audience that was, nevertheless, under church discipline and presumably in a hopeful frame.

The concerns that occupied Moody during the course of the diary and throughout the remainder of his life had their beginning, therefore, in the first foundation of the New England churches. Indeed, these concerns could be traced to the beginnings of Puritanism itself. The subject of this chapter is, however, the struggle for a definition of faith and the emergence of variations of preparationism in New England during the first one hundred years. Preparation was closely linked to the distinctive character of New England congregationalism. An alteration of ecclesiastical polity would have required a revision of the practice of preparation, and vice versa.

The alternative to preparationist theology offered by John Cotton's theology of immediacy foundered in the Antinomian Controversy.⁴ Yet Cotton, as well as the preparationists, was a source for the Half-Way Covenant. As early as 1634, Cotton, in a letter to the Dorchester church of Richard Mather, declared that he and the Boston church had taken the position that children might be baptized if either grandparent was a member of a church, even though the parents were not.⁵ Richard Mather advocated what was in effect the Half-Way Covenant position as early as 1645.⁶ The Cambridge Synod of 1646-1648 recognized the centrality of the matter of infant baptism, together with

the diversity of opinion and practice that prevailed throughout New England. By October 1648 the Cambridge Synod had hammered out a platform of church discipline that was intended to be a model for the churches, with the Westminster Confession as its theological basis.

The "Preface" of the Cambridge Platform staunchly defended the premise that the fellowship of the churches should consist of saints by calling, that is, those who had experienced regeneration. Against the charge that they made no provision for reaching the ignorant and sinful outside the church, the elders and messengers insisted that public preaching of the word and private conferences would convince many to mend their ways, adopt sound and orthodox views, and join the church, first as covenant members, then as communicants. Better, the elders declared, that rough and unhewn stones be squared before than after being set into the building. Preparation for full membership was clearly what the Synod had in mind for those who entered by way of what Shepard had called the external covenant. Like Shepard, the Synod recognized that some of those admitted to full membership, or communion, might be hypocrites inwardly. Such nevertheless remained saints by calling until they came under excommunication for gross sins. The Synod followed Shepard rather than Cotton in assuming that only God could discern who might be a hypocrite, Cotton having come close to asserting that such discernment was the gift of the true saint. We meet some such saints in the Moody diary, the diarist recording their confident assertions that Moody was without grace and was un-

regenerate.

The Synod of 1648 had declared that saints by calling must be in visible political union, but only they. Those who were members by virtue of baptism only were not properly included, nor were those who merely professed to be believers. The mutual covenant by which the particular church was constituted was based on the common experience of faith professed by saints by calling, but the covenant was not an attestation of that faith. Thus the Synod left the way open for those to enter the covenant relationship who had not experienced regenerating faith. Within a generation there seems to have been a redefinition of the term "saints by calling," and the term "visible saints" seems also to have taken on a new and different content.

By definition in the Cambridge Platform, those admitted as saints by calling had first to be examined and tried as to their fitness for the church, and the basic requirements of church membership in the full sense were repentance from sin and faith in Jesus Christ. Acceptance into membership rested on the satisfaction of "rationall charity." The weakest measure of faith was to be accepted in those who desired to be admitted. What was meant by this may be discerned from an examination of the confessions offered in his church and written down by Shepard more than a decade earlier, in which the tentative, fragile nature of the professed faith of the prospective saint is sometimes all too evident.⁷ But Shepard and the Cambridge elders agreed that ultimately only God could discern the true state of the heart. Sometimes the best testimonials were given by hypocrites.

Faith and hope were also factors in the ministerial response to the most faltering profession. Having progressed thus far, the prospective saint, already humbled by a protracted trial of faith, beset by many doubts along the way, and continuously subjected to the hammering and hewing of preparationist preachers, need have no fear that the mortal verdict of an overly scrupulous elder or pastor would bar the way to church membership.⁸ Few, if any, were ever refused at the gate. Faithful to this practice of Calvinism, at least, the Puritans regularly exercised the judgment of charity.

Those who had been members of the church from infancy by virtue of their baptism, and whose relationship to the church rested on the covenant relationship of their parents, were required likewise to give a satisfactory account of their repentance and faith before being admitted to the Lord's Supper. From the viewpoint of the Cambridge elders, those born into church membership or who were received in childhood had many privileges denied to non-members. Even though they were not yet regenerate and might never become so, they were "in a more hopeful way" of attaining saving grace and, even before regeneration, of receiving special blessings from the covenant and from baptism. More importantly, they were under the watchful eye of the church, subject to reproofs, admonitions, and church discipline. Those who were baptized were proper subjects for preparation for salvation. Far from being a wrenching, radical change the Half-Way Covenant eventually was adopted by many churches as essential to the continuance of the visible church

described in the Cambridge Platform that preceded it.

Thanks to the formidable scholarship of Perry Miller, the "orthodox" view in Puritan studies is that preparation was "the hidden issue" of the Antinomian Controversy and that preparation antecedent to conversion indicated an "Arminian" drift in New England Puritan theology. Some hard things have also been written concerning the way in which Puritanism was compromised by the Half-Way Covenant. True, the issue of preparation was implicit in the Antinomian Controversy, but not in the way in which it has often been presented as a subtle assertion of human ability or the intrusion of works-righteousness into Puritan theology. The real question behind the Antinomian Controversy was the proper order of the redemptive sequence, or which aspects of the process should be given logical priority. Cotton believed, and the Antinomians asserted more dogmatically, that any acknowledgment of man's role prior to the singular moment of regeneration detracted from the bestowal of divine grace and tainted the experience of conversion with works-righteousness. Shepard brought the issue to the fore by asking Cotton, in a 1636 letter, whether a man who truly lays hold on any promise must be "de facto in Christ, or in fieri [in process], immediatly and nextly preparing for Christ."⁹ Shepard's position was that the man who truly lays hold of a promise of salvation either already has Christ or is in process of receiving Him.¹⁰ Cotton, in his reply, insisted that it was necessary first to "close with Christ" before laying hold of the promise. Peter Bulkeley (1583-1659) spoke to the issue in The Gospel-Covenant when he declared that faith

was necessarily antecedent to justification, not consequent to it as Cotton had said.¹¹ Cotton replied that in no sense could faith be considered the formal cause of justification.¹²

The issue of preparation was couched in questions concerning the nature of the covenants of works and grace, the distinction between conditional and absolute promises, the nature of justification, the sequential relationship both logically and temporally between faith and union with Christ, and the significance of sanctification as an indicator of one's spiritual state. The fifth of the Sixteene Questions the elders addressed to Cotton carried the weight of the whole regarding preparation. It asked whether union with Christ occurred before and without faith as Cotton said it did. Cotton replied that the Spirit might witness to a man's regeneration, "though not without some worke of Christ in man, yet without respect unto [that] Worke." Cotton acknowledged in this statement that there might be preparatory work accompanying a saving conversion, but that the Spirit sealed the now regenerate believer without respect to his preparation for that experience. The elders replied that they disavowed the notion that any preparatory work should have salvific merit, but that they objected to Cotton's implied repudiation of the Spirit's role in such preparatory work. Cotton protested in his rejoinder that he meant that the Spirit witnessed to justification "without sight of any work of ours foregoing as any way preparing us therunto."¹³

William Stoeve has pointed out that Cotton matter-of-factly discussed preparatory states necessary before union with

Christ in terms similar to those of Shepard.¹⁴ God, said Cotton, makes the sinner aware of his bondage to the Law and of being cut off from God and from all comfort derived from his own legal works. These are not saving works, for there can be no good works at all before union with Christ. Neither Shepard nor Bulkeley, who put faith prior to justification, regarded legal preparations as saving. The point seems clear that none of the English and American preparationists regarded legal or pre-conversion preparations as meritorious or saving. The preparationist debate between Cotton and the elders was actually submerged in larger considerations of the order of redemption and was largely semantic. Cotton was seeking to keep grace free from any taint of human effort and the elders were seeking to establish preparation as a means of maintaining moral and religious discipline among the regenerate. Cotton in essence lost and within a decade of the Antinomian Controversy preparationism was established in the ideological landscape of New England. It was, however, subject to a continuing process of revision and transformation.

John Norton (1606-1662), who succeeded to Cotton's church in 1656, four years after the latter's death, devoted his skills to a thorough reexamination of New England theology and to a revision of the idea of preparation. According to Norman Pettit, Norton "not only altered preparation to fit the needs of the time but offered a critical analysis of the concept as it stood in the Cambridge Platform."¹⁵ Norton wanted to retain preparatory activity and the idea of a complex, many staged ordo salu-

tis as a barrier to "enthusiasm," that is to say against the idea of conversion as a completely unmeditated and unprepared for invasion of the Spirit. And yet, faithful to Cotton and to Calvinism, he was opposed to the idea that man's actions prior to conversion were in any sense effectual. Preparatory repentance, Norton declared, works no change in the heart. Men under constraint of the Law are totally, though not necessarily finally, lost.

According to Pettit, Norton propounded six stages of "conviction" ranging from a basic sense of sin to a sense of guilt. These were followed by six stages of preparatory repentance. In these stages man responds affectively through desire for Christ but, unlike Sibbes, Norton found nothing hopeful in man's mere desire for Christ. It was still a seeking before faith or justification, an ineffectual common work of the Spirit.¹⁶ Norton recognized that preparatory motions were part of the experience of a sinner on his way to grace but that such motions were not salvific or reflective of saving grace bestowed. He sought to clarify the logical structure of the order of salvation while at the same time recognizing the entrenched strength of preparationist thought and practice in New England theology.

Norton's position, as set forth in The Orthodox Evangelist, was important in reconciling the traditions of Cotton and Shepard as these coalesced in the theory and practice of the Half-Way Covenant. It must be kept in mind, however, that the difference between Cotton and Shepard was not in the latter's attribution of human ability to unregenerate man in attaining salvation

of a double covenant, external and internal, "to undermine divers usual objections against the Membership and Covenant Interest of Children." He acknowledged that though those under the external covenant were not really and savingly the sons and people of God, and might in fact be the children of the devil, they were nevertheless honored by God with his name and were numbered as members of his visible church. Shepard argued that these people were set apart, above all those outside the church, "to enjoy the special benefits of Remission of Sins, power against sin, eternal life, & c," all of which would be theirs until and unless they refused them. Those under the external covenant have the benefits of the Word and of the promises and covenant, which are "the ordinary meanes of saving grace and eternall good." They have special status as "children of the promise and Covenant," and like the lost sheep of the house of Israel they are especially privileged to hear the gospel first. The promise belongs to those under the external covenant of the church "indefinitely." God, of course, saves whom He will and when He will through "this great work," but "in the mean while no man can exclude himself, or any others within this Covenant from hope of this mercy, and grace, but may with comfort look and pray for it."¹⁹

Shepard declared, basing his argument, as Calvin had done in reference to the covenant, on Genesis 17, that "the Covenant made with Abraham is renewed in the Gospel." Not all church members, Shepard said, must be saints by calling. "The outward Covenant is not allway first entered into by personal profession of faith."²⁰ Children of godly seed were to be considered church

members but were not to be admitted to the Lord's Supper until they were able to give a relation of their experience of faith. But "true believers" who had already made a profession of faith might also be excluded from communion if they revealed an ignorance of the proper use of the Lord's Supper. How this was to be determined is not evident unless it is assumed that Shepard expected some sort of quasi-public examination periodically to ascertain the fitness of "virgin professors" for communion. In any case, by Shepard's standard, a profession of faith did not exclude one from further examination to test the validity of one's faith.

Shepard expected other ministers to extract professions of faith from the most reticent as well as he. The declaration of a William Andrews, or a Richard Eccles, or a Mrs. Crackbone was not expected to stand up under the scrutiny given to the views of an Anne Hutchinson. A weak faith was much more acceptable than an erroneous one. Shepard also expected that a goodly part, perhaps half, of those who made professions of faith would prove at length to be hypocrites. There could be no clear line of distinction between saints and hypocrites, as Cotton supposed. "Virgin professors," whether saints or hypocrites were expected to continue in a process of preparation, the saints to make up their deficiencies, the hypocrites to be readied for a more exquisite damnation.

The solution of the Convention of 1657 and the Synod of 1662 was supported by the publication of Shepard's Church Membership of Children. The Synod of 1662 confirmed the strategy

of the preparationists, now with the endorsement of Norton, to make sure large numbers of people remained under the discipline of the church. Further evidence of the strength of Shepard's influence is seen in the "Preface" and body of the Propositions concerning the Subject of Baptism and Consociation of Churches, which sets forth the results of the Synod of 1662. There explicit reference is made to Shepard's Church Membership of Children. The Synod, through the pen of Jonathan Mitchell, understood Shepard to say that the children of members should continue successively as members "when they are grown up, till for their wickedness they be cast out." The second and third "propositions" argue at length that the children of "confederate visible beleevers" are also members of the visible church and thus properly under the watch and discipline of the church throughout their lives. The "Preface" also notes, in a reference to Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins, that churches may degenerate and apostatize as readily as the seed of professing believers, the point being that children are as apt to remain faithful to the gospel as professing adult believers. It seemed reasonable, then, to provide a means of assuring a stable population of (at least) nominal church members who would be subject to preparatory discipline.

So much attention has been given to Shepard and the preparationists as conversionists that their role as advocates of Christian nurture has been often overlooked. Increase Mather, who was converted to the Synod position on the Half-Way Covenant by Jonathan Mitchell, Shepard's successor in Cambridge, became

one of the most vocal supporters of the idea of providing nurture for the "rising generation." His views influenced Moody as a young schoolmaster, as is evident by Moody's 1718 letters and early diary entries. Moody's youthful dedication to the conversion of his young charges bears the stamp of Mather's contagious concern for the "rising generation" and his diary in fact reveals that he read Mather's tract on the subject.

The Half-Way Covenant, however, failed to accomplish for the churches what its designers had expected of it. That failure was due in large part to the failure of large numbers of those to whom baptismal privileges had been extended to come under the preparatory discipline necessary if the Half-Way Covenant were to succeed. Preparatory discipline fell short of providing the means by which troubled souls could attain a sense of grace, regeneration and assurance. The rank and file of the members of the visible church were simply unable to feel the intensity of the burden imposed by preparatory discipline, and those who did feel it were often unable to move beyond despair of their salvation. The Shepard model of preparation relied on the preaching of terror and deferred conversion experience indefinitely by protracted preparation and by its insistence on a willingness to be content with being damned. The result was that conscientious individuals who endured the process, at least for a time, were unable to find assurance and joy even when the crisis of faith was resolved by conversion. The older model of preparation, although per-

ceived by Shepard himself as applicable to the needs of evangelical churches, did not in fact meet those needs in practice. The reason was that the application of preparationism to the individual could not be translated into the larger social and community situation. The Synod of 1662 recognized that the needs of the churches were primarily social and they retained those elements of their tradition that seemed best for their changing world. By 1679, moreover, the leaders of New England openly recognized that the problems confronting society were not personal but social in nature and that, instead of individual preparation for grace, a "Solemn and explicit Renewal of the Covenant" by congregation and community alike was the only means of slowing and stopping the erosion of moral decay.²¹

A word is in order at this point concerning the Half-Way Covenant itself. Robert G. Pope has shown that the Half-Way Covenant did not result in a decline in full communicant membership, arguing that it served a useful function in helping keep many associated with the church who might otherwise have been lost to it. Yet the majority of new members in the churches Pope studied joined on the basis of a regenerative experience. Only about 25 percent of those who "owned the covenant" as half-way members went on to become communicant members, and usually only after considerable time. Pope suggests that individuals may have lacked enthusiasm for the Half-Way Covenant because it delayed their admission into the church as full members.²² One may conclude, on the basis of Pope's research, that the Half-Way Covenant as a strategy for preparation for

salvation was less effective than a more direct method of evangelism and that, rather than lowering the standard of grace, it served to put assurance of salvation beyond the range of most.

The most formidable critic of the preparationism of Hooker and Shepard was Giles Firmin (1615-1697). Firmin returned to England in 1647 but he nevertheless was the bellwether of the opposition to preparationism in New England. Jonathan Edwards, who relied heavily on Shepard in his Religious Affections, referred to Firmin at least once in his personal notes, seeming to concur with Firmin's negative judgment on those who believed that one must know the time of one's conversion.²³

Firmin's attack on preparationism, The Real Christian or a Treatise on Effectual Calling, was not published until 1670, more than two decades after Shepard's death. The issue between them, however, was discussed in correspondence between them before and after Firmin's return to England. Firmin charged that Hooker's and Shepard's emphasis on preparation kept many earnest Christians from being confident about their union with Christ. Those who have written on preparation, said Firmin, have had few words of comfort and hope for these troubled souls. The severity of preparationist preaching of terror, sorrows, and humiliation and the insistence that there was but one way that men must come to Christ barred many a soul from an experience of saving conversion. Firmin's solution to the dilemma was to declare it the duty of all to believe in and

to receive Christ, "be they prepared or not prepared."²⁴ From Firmin's point of view, to be hungry for Christ and to desire to be saved was adequate preparation. Hooker and Shepard held that there was much more to preparation than a mere awareness of destitution. The soul must be made so submissive to God as to be completely content with whatever God wills for it, either salvation or damnation. To this Firmin protested adamantly. All agreed that there was no grace in the soul before conversion, said Firmin, "yet here I think is an Act, and a high one too, of Grace . . . before the Soul hath Faith in Christ." Firmin objected that there was a contradiction between the denial of grace before conversion and the requirement that the soul before conversion should become quiet, contented, and well satisfied with the sovereign pleasure of God in damning it. He emphatically declared that such a doctrine was an innovation, and although "their holiness and abilities I do much reverence . . . their Doctrine is dreadful."²⁵

Firmin was addressing a larger audience than the congregations of Hooker and Shepard; he was appealing to the sensibilities of Puritans everywhere. "Let us call to thousands and ten thousands of Saints, who never heard of this Doctrine till these two Worthies preached it; Let us call to those, who reading it are much troubled, and cannot yield to it as true, that God requires it, what do you feel within you? Is it not Grace, the free, rich Grace of God glorious in your thoughts?" On behalf of those "troubled wounded Christians, whose hearts have sunk at the reading of this Doctrine," Firmin appealed to the

objective realities of the Christian faith: the free grace, righteousness, and redemption of Christ. He appealed to the senses, feelings, and experiences of those who found solace and strength in Christian doctrine to repudiate the imperative to resign oneself to damnation. "Doth God's being Sovereign of his grace depend upon my being content without it?"²⁶ He asserted that the matter of God's sovereignty over grace should not be preached in these terms while the soul was under the work of preparation. Instead, the preaching of God's goodness, grace, and mercy toward sinners is more appropriate when souls are in preparation. The preaching of damnation to souls under preparation undercuts the meaning of infant baptism as a sign of God's covenantal promise, Firmin declared. He observed that Hooker and Shepard were strong proponents of infant baptism, but that their doctrine of humiliation was inconsistent with it.

Firmin held infant baptism in high regard and considered that it took priority over all other considerations in the discovery of faith. Like Thomas Blake, he held that the faith of one's fathers was the basis of one's own. Both saw it as an antidote to religious anxiety. Shepard's stress on the importance of the baptismal covenant was well known, but Shepard retained the third stage of preparationism--humiliation--as a device to generate "theocentric" anxiety among those who took his "rhetoric of redemption" seriously. Firmin's recognition of the paradox in Shepard's position at this point did not go unnoticed among subsequent generations of New England Puritans.

There is no evidence, however, of a direct knowledge of Firmin's point of view by Moody, but a comparison of the expressed views of Firmin and Moody make the affinity all the more striking.²⁷

The covenant relationship served a double function. It helped retain large numbers of unconverted people in a relationship to the church and kept them under a preparatory discipline. It also gave a measure of hope to those who sincerely desired to attain to saving faith but were kept from it by the rigorous requirements of preparationist theology. The covenant was important for Firmin, but its purpose for him was quite different from that perceived by Shepard. Preparation was also an important part of Christian experience for Firmin, but, unlike Shepard, he held that it was impossible for anyone to endure the "sinking discouragement" attending the conviction that one must be content with being damned. "If the end of God in preparatory works may be, and have been attained without this condition, then this condition is not requisite."²⁸

Firmin, like Sibbes, held that all that was needed was for the soul to see its need of Christ. "That condition which is cross to the nature of man as man, to the Christian as Christian, cannot possibly be a requisite to Faith, and right preparation for Christ." Man would cease to be a rational creature, said Firmin, if grace were to make possible contentment with being damned. Man, regenerate or unregenerate, was not capable of endorsing such an absurdity, according to Firmin. For him all men were bound by duty to obey the call of God to grace, and if one failed, then and only then was one surely damned.

All must seek to "catch hold" of Christ, said Firmin, "For fit, or not fit, it is every man's duty to whom the Gospel is preached, to believe in Christ as much as it is his duty to repent."²⁹

Samuel Willard (1640-1707) summarized the theological thought of New England Puritanism at the close of the seventeenth century with his sermonic exposition of the Westminster Shorter Catechism.³⁰ Willard's work shows the direction in which Puritan theology and preparationism had moved since the days of Shepard and Firmin. The first question of the Shorter Catechism dealt with the chief end of man, which was to glorify God and enjoy Him forever. Willard's reconstruction of the question inverted the order by asserting that man's happiness was the chief end of man and that man's glorification of God was the most productive means to that end. Willard's orthodoxy may have remained intact,³¹ but it was an orthodoxy considerably different from that of the founding fathers. James W. Jones has correctly discerned that Willard contradicted the perspectives of Cotton, Hooker, and Shepard when he (Willard) set man's search for happiness over against the glory of God.³² Willard regarded "regular" self-love as a proper motivation for seeking salvation, a position which Firmin's theology also approved. Regular self-love as preached by Willard could not forestall, however, occasional outbursts of religious anxiety of the sort that Firmin had blamed on Hooker and Shepard.³³ One of Willard's young charges, Elizabeth Sewall, daughter of Judge Samuel Sewall and the mother-to-be of Mary Hirst, whom we encounter often in

the Moody diary, experienced a profound sense of theocentric anxiety over a period of six years, from her ninth to her fifteenth year.³⁴ The ghosts of Cotton, Shepard, and, in this case, Norton haunted the nether regions of the Puritan psyche for more than a hundred years, in spite of the ameliorating effects of the more liberal theology represented by Willard.

Willard's declaration that "a Willingness to be Damned is inconsistent with a true Desire that God may be Glorified" was clearly aimed at the key point of Shepard's preparationism. For Willard, self-love, regulated and confined within the bounds of religious, moral, and social propriety was thus sanctified as a means of grace alongside the traditional preparatory disciplines. For Shepard, the glory of God was to be dissociated from any consideration of human happiness. Willingness and contentment to be damned were, in Shepard's parlance, simply ways of renouncing self-love.

Willard, however, had much more to say about "preparatory work," which was primarily a matter of the sinner's being brought to see his need of Christ--an application of the truth of the gospel to the understanding. But the will also, for Willard, was involved directly and concurrently. Preparatory work was to be carefully distinguished from saving work. Preparatory experiences of the elect were no different from those of the reprobate before saving grace was implanted.

Willard was aware of the dangers and controversies that surrounded preparationism, whether there was any such work, and whether, if there was, it was a common or saving work. He

sought to reconcile the differences among the orthodox concerning preparation by noting that all orthodox agreed that a new power must be given to man before he truly believes in Christ. Some come to faith by a short term application of the means of grace while others, he observed, go through protracted awakenings and terrors. Some come to Christ gently; others come with great fear and anguish of soul. He felt there was danger in holding souls in an extended process of preparation awaiting more certain signs of grace. Preparation was beneficial, but men should come to Christ as soon as possible. And in his discussion of preparation, Willard spoke of only two stages, conviction of sin and illumination of the Spirit.

Willard, like Increase Mather and Solomon Stoddard, retained a place for preparation, but the preparation he advocated was far less demanding than that of Shepard. The third stage, humiliation, was omitted, and one need not fear that one's claim upon Christ was presumption or that one's sincere faith was vain. A saving change of heart was self-evident to the one who experienced it.

Increase Mather declared, in his prefatory letter to Stoddard's Guide to Christ, "that Preparation for Christ is necessary, before the Soul can be United to him by Faith." Such was, said Mather, an undoubted truth. But again, we observe, preparation for Mather and Stoddard as well as for Willard was quite different from Shepard's preparation. Stoddard's Guide to Christ is important at this point for three principal reasons: Mather's prefatory letter provides some clues to the

transformation of preparationist theology; Stoddard's work provides a definitive statement of the use of preparation in the early eighteenth-century; and Moody read Stoddard's Guide to Christ during the time of his deepest religious crisis of the diary years, at the very time he was reading Shepard.

Stoddard's Guide to Christ was directed not to the sinner but to the minister who was to counsel him. It was in fact a guidebook, directing the minister "How to Guide Souls through the work of conversion" to "confirm and establish [the soul] more in apprehensions of the dangerousness of a Natural Condition: showing him that every man that dies in a State of Nature, will certainly be damned."³⁵ The very day Moody began reading Stoddard's Guide to Christ, April 3, 1721, he concluded that he was "in a state of nature"--Stoddard's exact phrase.³⁶ In the same context, Stoddard stressed that convictions soon wear off and that men's terrors are short-lived. Stoddard described precisely the state of mind Moody found in himself. Moody frequently complained of "Dreadful assurance" and complacency. "Men harden their hearts," said Stoddard, "become preoccupied with worldly business, and flatter themselves that their state is not so bad after all." Moody, even in April 1721, was involved with court and town affairs and would become increasingly preoccupied with "worldly business" during the diary years. . The secular drift of his life helped convince him that he was indeed in a state of nature. But the basic notion and the theological terminology he used to describe his situation came from what he read.

What Moody read had a profound impact on his way of thinking about himself, and what he read concerning preparation he often found to be contradictory and paradoxical. Stoddard and Shepard set forth the work of preparation as a proper balance of fear and hope. Both cautioned the seeker that the diligent performance of duties was no evidence of grace. Both warned that religious affections before conversion were, in Stoddard's words, "nothing else but the workings of self-love and natural conscience."³⁷ They differed, however, on how the convicted sinner was to look at himself. That difference reveals itself in Moody. Although greatly influenced by Stoddard, the Mathers, and other writers, he was always more influenced by the preparationist model of Shepard. Stoddard pointed out that preparation for salvation often led a person to conclude that he was not among the elect, that "God had overlooked him."³⁸ But fear of reprobation, Stoddard insisted, was no certain evidence of it. In fact, to conclude that one was not elect was to be guilty of the sin of presumption. For Shepard, however, one ought first to believe that one was damned, and to become willing to be damned and content with one's destiny. Presumption was in claiming to be elect on uncertain evidence of it. No man who understands himself, said Stoddard, should say he is willing to be damned. "Nature teaches every man to desire happiness," though nature cannot in itself produce grace.³⁹ Faith for Stoddard was the first act of grace. To believe in Christ is to have faith, and to have faith is to be saved at last. Stoddard would make it easier for men to enter the king-

dom.

The modified preparationism of Stoddard, like that of Norton,⁴⁰ Firmin, and Willard offered more hope to the penitent seeking soul than the preparationism of Shepard. Those men returned to the tender root of Puritanism that had found favorable soil in the gentle piety of Richard Sibbes who preached that even the weakest faith was a certain sign that the sinner had received grace. How much they were indebted to Sibbes is not readily apparent, but they shared the spirit of Sibbes rather than of Shepard.⁴¹

Stoddard's Treatise Concerning Conversion⁴² reflects a Puritan tradition that antedated Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins.⁴³ From Stoddard's point of view, in contrast to Shepard's notion of protracted preparationism, the change wrought in conversion occurred at once, in the twinkling of an eye. "There is wont ordinarily to be a great deal of time spent in way of preparation for this changed . . . a work of Contrition and Humiliation . . . yet conversion is wrought at once." There is grave danger that persons under the work of preparation are so exact in their discipline that they mistake their experience for signs of grace when "their religious affections are but counterfeit Graces."⁴⁴ Stoddard refused to defer the reception of grace as Shepard had done. "When the Soul has performed one holy Action it is converted," and faith in Christ, grace in the heart, and the experiential unfolding of love, faith, and humility, and the assurance of justification are one experience. For all his warnings about the necessity and

limitation of preparation, the bottom line of Stoddard's conversionist theology was his affinity with the theology of Sibbes. By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, at least one branch of preparationist theology had travelled full circle back to Sibbes.

The preparationist theology of Shepard, nevertheless, retained its influence well into the eighteenth century, making a strong impact on sensitive souls like Moody and on the more sophisticated mind of Jonathan Edwards, who reworked Shepard's preparationism into a new system of conversionist theology, retaining the elements of Shepard's system that he found useful and discarding the rest. The central element of Shepard's theology was inherited by the Edwardsean school as the stringent doctrine of being willing to be damned for the glory of God.⁴⁵ Moody, however, made a singular response to Shepard's stern theology by regarding himself as among the damned and, failing to reconcile himself to the doctrine, was driven to a desperate resignation to his lost estate, with serious personal consequences to his mental and physical health in later years. Thus the "diary of the damned" is an eloquent witness to the persistence of an idea incarnate in human experience transmitted by the written word into the personal experience of an individual of a subsequent generation.

NOTES: CHAPTER VI

¹ Increase Mather, Order of the Gospel (Boston, 1700).

² Williston Walker, The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism (Boston, 1960 [1893]), 478.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The best source for an insight into the Antinomian Controversy and the conflict between Cotton and Shepard and the elders of the Bay Colony is David D. Hall, ed., The Antinomian Controversy 1636-1638, A Documentary History (Middletown, Connecticut, 1968).

⁵ Walker, Creeds and Platforms, 169. For John Cotton's letter to the Dorchester Church see Increase Mather, The First Principles of New England concerning the Subject of Baptism & Communion of the Churches (Cambridge, Mass., 1675), 2. Cotton declared that the grandchild could be baptized on the grounds of the grandfather's covenant so long as the child was committed to him for education. Parents must not, Cotton warned, use this arrangement as an excuse to "neglect the due and seasonable preparation of themselves for entrance into Covenant with God and his Church." He based his argument on Genesis 17.7, Calvin's primary text for his covenant theology--Institutes of the Christian Religion, edited by John T. McNeill and translated by Ford L. Battles (Philadelphia, 1960), II.x.9, IV.xvi.3, 12, 24. God, according to Calvin's interpretation of Genesis, had promised to be God to the believer and his seed. Cotton--a firm Calvinist--declared that "by Seed is not here meant the next Seed only but Seeds Seed also to many generations." (Mather, First Principles, 3) Cotton's position on this point was similar to that of Thomas Blake, The Covenant Sealed (London, 1655), who argued that baptismal rights go back "as high as ancestors have been in Christianity."

⁶ Walker, Creeds and Platforms, 252.

⁷ George Selement, "The Means to Grace: A Study of Conversion in Early New England" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 1974), 105-309: "The Confessions of Diverse Propounded to be Received & Were Entertained as Members." The fifty-one "confessions" show clearly that a conversion experience was not requisite to church membership. The individual was expected, however, to be in process of preparation, which

the confessions indicate. Selement makes the valid point, following Rutman [Darrett B. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia, New York, Toronto, 1970), 32-33], that preparatory experience of lay persons and ministers was not identical in terms of their understanding of it, their practice of it, or its effects. The present author must therefore disagree with Selement that "conversion experience remains constant over time [Selement, Means, 104]." Pre-Awakening conversion experience differed greatly from later revivalist conversions. The dynamics of modern mass media conversions are, in turn, quite different from, say, nineteenth-century revivalism. The present author concludes that, rather than positing a "psychological model," a model of experience drawn from the intellectual and theological assumptions of a given time period and locale better explains the religious behavior of the individual or the group.

⁸ For an interesting and varied perspective on the nature and effects of religious scrupulosity and its relation to the "decline" of religious interest in New England see: Edmund S. Morgan, "New England Puritanism: Another Approach," William and Mary Quarterly 18, 1961, 236-242; Darrett B. Rutman, "God's Bridge Falling Down: 'Another Approach' to New England Puritanism Assayed," William and Mary Quarterly 19, 1962, 408-421; Robert G. Pope, The Half-Way Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England (Princeton, N. J., 1969); Ross W. Beals, "The Half-Way Covenant and Religious Scrupulosity: The First Church of Dorchester Massachusetts, as a Test Case," William and Mary Quarterly 31, 1974, 465-480; and Robert G. Pope, "New England Versus the New England Mind: The Myth of Declension," Puritan New England: Essays on Religion, Society, and Cultus (St. Martin's Press, 1977) (Reprinted from the Journal of Social History, III, 95-108).

⁹ Hall, ed., Antinomian Controversy, 26.

¹⁰ Ibid., 27.

¹¹ Ibid., 34-35.

¹² Ibid., 36.

¹³ Ibid., 87.

¹⁴ William Stoevers, "Nature, Grace and John Cotton: The Theological Dimension in the New England Antinomian Controversy," Church History 44, 1975, 22-33; also Stoevers, A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven: Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts (Middletown, Conn., 1978).

¹⁵ Norman Pettit, The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life (New Haven, 1966), 177

¹⁶ Ibid., 179.

¹⁷ Ibid., 181-183.

¹⁸ Pope, Half-Way Covenant, 8, note 2: the term was apparently introduced by Joseph Bellamy in 1769.

¹⁹ Thomas Shepard, The Church Membership of Children and Their Right to Baptism (Boston, 1663), 5.

²⁰ Ibid., 19.

²¹ Walker, Creeds and Platforms, 435.

²² Pope, Half-Way Covenant, 216, 235-238.

²³ Jonathan Edwards Manuscripts, Folder 11, "Loose Sheets on Trinity Free Will Efficacious Grace, etc," Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. Edwards also noted that "Mr. Williams of Hatfield says that Mr. Stoddard liked this author."

²⁴ Giles Firmin, The Real Christian, or a Treatise on Effectual Calling (Boston, 1742), 2.

²⁵ Ibid., 111.

²⁶ Ibid., 118.

²⁷ Ibid., 125. Firmin set forth the affirmation of a personal covenant as an alternative to preparationism. Moody's covenant affirmation was directed to the same end, except that for Moody it was a last resort after his failure to attain assurance through preparation; Firmin, of course, was appealing to the covenant concept as an argument against Shepard's preparationism.

²⁸ Ibid., 141.

²⁹ Ibid., 188.

³⁰ Samuel Willard, A Compleat Body of Divinity (Boston, 1726).

³¹ Seymour Van Dyken, Samuel Willard: 1640-1707, Preacher of Orthodoxy in an Era of Change (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1972).

³² James W. Jones, The Shattered Synthesis: New England Puritanism before the Great Awakening (New Haven, 1973), 56-57.

³³ Philip Greven, The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America (New York, 1977), 203.

³⁴ For an account of Elizabeth Sewall's traumatic religious experiences see Samuel Sewall's diary for January 10, 1690, and January 13, February 22, May 3, and November 12, 1696. N. Halsey Thomas, ed., The Diary of Samuel Sewall, II (New York, 1973).

³⁵ Solomon Stoddard, A Guide to Christ, or, The Way of directing Souls that are Under the Work of CONVERSION Compiled for the Help of Young Ministers and . . . Private Christians, Who are Enquiring the Way to Zion (Boston, 1714).

³⁶ Moody diary manuscript, April 3, 1723.

³⁷ Stoddard, Guide, 4.

³⁸ Ibid., 37.

³⁹ Ibid., 77.

⁴⁰ John Norton, The Orthodox Evangelist, or a Treatise wherein many great Evangelical Truths . . . Are briefly Discussed . . . (London, 1654). Norton, contrary to John Cotton who was his predecessor at First Church in Boston, conceded that preparation was the means by which the elect come to God, but, he argued, it had no necessary connection with salvation. Converted persons must not, however, "hide from themselves their experience of a preparatory work" by unduly emphasizing the specific time of their conversion. The elect, he said, can never be certain of their election before they are effectually called to Christ, but none in this life can ordinarily conclude that they are reprobate. In fact, for any man to conclude that he is reprobate is sin--"the Personal Application thereof before faith, in point of Election, or during this life in point of reprobation . . . is forbidden, and is inexpedient, and hurtful in many ways." "It is," said Norton, both sin and folly for us to trouble ourselves . . . with

scruples about our Personal-Election." Men should not complain against God's just punishment, it is true, Norton declared. "To justify God is our duty, but to be contented to be damned is no where commanded; nay . . . it is prohibited; because to be contented to be damned, is to be an Enemy and to sin against God, and that forever." Norton, then, advocated a modified preparationism that repudiated Shepard's extreme statement of it.

⁴¹ Ricahrd Sibbes, The Bruised Reede and Smoaking Flax (London, 1630), best exemplifies this genre of Puritan piety. Sibbes's point, in his famous sermon, was that God would not reject anyone who showed the weakest inclination toward faith or the faintest desire for spiritual truth.

⁴² Solomon Stoddard, A Treatise Concerning Conversion Showing the Nature of Saving Conversion and the Way wherein it is wrought (Boston, 1719).

⁴³ E. Brooks Holifield, "The Intellectual Sources of Stoddardeanism," New England Quarterly 45, Sept. 1972, 373-392. Holifield holds that Stoddard's sacramental doctrine, and his theology in general, was directly appropriated from a specific post-Reformation Protestant tradition, which Holifield traces back to early sixteenth-century German and Swiss theologians and to clearly distinguishable English antecedents. Holifield disagrees with Perry Miller's assumption that Stoddardeanism was a response to colonial frontier conditions [Perry Miller, "Solomon Stoddard 1643-1729," Harvard Theological Review 34, October 1941, 277-320]. In support of his disagreement, he calls attention to the challenge to Miller's view by James P. Walsh, "Solomon Stoddard's Open Communion: a Reexamination," New England Quarterly 43, March 1970, 97-114.

⁴⁴ Stoddard, Conversion, 3.

⁴⁵ Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790), one of the inheritors of Edwards's mantle, declared that the law was "a schoolmaster for true conversion" necessary in "the whole work preparatory to onversion . . . to make the sinner see, and feel, and own that it is just, quite just, altogether just and fair, for God to damn him." Joseph Bellamy, True Religion Delineated, and Distinguished from All Counterfeits [1750], in The Works of Joseph Bellamy, ed. by S. Dodge, I (New York, 1811-1812), 159. Samuel Moody, Joseph Moody's son who became the first master of Dummer Academy, challenged Bellamy's views with An Attempt to Point Out the Fatal and Pernicious Consequences of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Bellamy's Doctrines Respecting Moral Evil (Boston, 1759), which drew a reply from Bellamy.

CHAPTER VII

MOODY AND PREDESTINATION:

A SEARCH FOR A THEOLOGICAL ALTERNATIVE

Moody's New England was as firmly committed to the doctrine of predestination as were its founding fathers. Or so it seemed to those who believed they were faithful to the Puritan tradition. If the doctrine of predestination was challenged, champions of orthodox opinion leaped to its defense. But, as Thomas Walter observed in 1720, New England was generally as silent on the subject of predestination as it was on the subject of the millenium.¹ The doctrine was taken for granted among the established churches, and only occasionally was it called forth to reinforce the point that God was sovereign over the affairs and souls of men.

There had been, however, a subtle change of emphasis in New England theology since the days of Thomas Shepard and John Cotton. New England society had passed through difficult times, and with each succeeding crisis it became more imperative to justify the ways of God to men. Increasingly God's action in the world, and in New England in particular, was seen in terms of his response to man's misdeeds rather than as the unfolding of his preordained plan. At the personal level, concern for individual salvation and personal election were still paramount. At the broader range of societal con-

cern the providential control of God over the affairs of men and over the entire creation was of greater importance. More and more the preachers of New England addressed themselves to this latter concern. By the mid-eighteenth century, Puritan New England would be divided over these two concerns, with Puritan liberals proclaiming the need for man's best efforts to assist God in maintaining a well-ordered universe and Puritan evangelicals calling men to give heed first and foremost to their eternal destinies.

Moody was caught in a spiritual vacuum between these two worlds of the mind. He was pulled one way by his instinct for a well-ordered society and the other way by his personal concern for salvation. Blocking the way to his assurance of faith was the doctrine of decrees, which filled his days and nights with anxiety about his place in the divine scheme of things. The second entry in his diary noted that he had discussed the doctrine of election with the Reverend John Tufts (1689-1752) of West Newbury. From that point on scarcely a week passed without some allusion to the doctrine of election. Moody's "theocentric anxiety" was centered on his doubts and fears concerning his own election. His unconverted state was a concern of his family and friends, and he saw reflected in much of what he read a warning of the judgment that awaited him.

It is not surprising, then, to find Moody would entertain alternatives to predestinarian theology. These alternatives came to his attention through the books he came across

quite fortuitously. Lacking the systematic inclinations of Edwards, he was unable to organize his thoughts into a coherent system, thus subjecting himself constantly to the confusion of conflicting opinions. His one consistency was that he held steadfastly to the idea that he was unregenerate and probably among the damned.

Moody's introduction to the challenge of the doctrine of predestination came in September 1720 when he obtained copies of John Checkley's Choice Dialogues and a refutation of Checkley by Thomas Walter. He quickly read Walter's refutation and turned his attention to Checkley's work. The work was ostensibly a defense of the Anglo-Arminianism of the Church of England, but it was in effect an attack upon the Puritan churches of New England. Edmund F. Slafter, Checkley's biographer, is incorrect in ascribing to Checkley the honor of being the first to write against the doctrine of decrees in New England.³ That distinction belongs to George Keith, who had arrived in Boston as a Quaker missionary in 1688.⁴ Failing to draw the Boston ministers into a public debate, Keith had published an attack on the churches which drew a defense of Puritan doctrine from Samuel Willard (1640-1707). Keith attacked the New England position on the grounds that the Puritans held that God had chosen to decree the reprobation of some men apart from a foreknowledge of their lack of faith that Adam's sin was imputed to all men so that all were guilty before having committed actual sin, and that the Puritan interpretation of "all men" being addressed by the gospel did

not provide for the possible salvation of all men who would truly believe.

Keith made a second attempt to state the case for Arminianism in New England when he returned as an Anglican missionary in 1703. He attacked Willard directly, and Willard again published a reply. Willard recognized that Keith's attack was an attempt to convince New Englanders that the will of man, not divine decrees, determined human destiny. The Keith affair was, however, merely a pre-dawn skirmish of the conflict that was to engulf New England in the early 1720's. The publication of Checkley's Choice Dialogues was the morning gun of that conflict. Measured by the extensive literary response by defenders of the New England theology, Checkley clearly touched a vital nerve. That nerve was the doctrine of predestination. If the doctrine could be discredited and be shown to be without scriptural foundation, the whole Puritan edifice would crumble. The issue Checkley raised soon shifted to the matter of the validity of Puritan ordination. In 1724 Checkley launched an attack on the order and government of the Puritan churches. He drew a full response from Jonathan Dickinson, from Moody's friend Nathan Prince who later (1747) became an Anglican, from Zachary Grey, Thomas Foxcroft, and others. When John White published his New England's Lamentations in 1734, he included concern for the declining state of church order, government and discipline as well as concern for the decline of godliness and the danger of Arminianism. New England churches had come to rely in-

creasingly upon the prerogatives of ministerial status and on a formal, objective understanding of the ministerial office.⁵ Already New England was a long way down the road toward the Anglicization of its institutional life. This was the price of the growing stability and secularization of colonial society. New England and the American colonies in general hankered after things English (such as imported musical instruments and other symbols of English culture), much of which they had necessarily forfeited in the process of colonization. Behind Checkley's challenge was the implication that a return to English ways meant a transformation of New England theology, church order, and ministerial office. And at the root of what was distinctive about New England was the doctrine of predestination. Everything else rested on that doctrine.

At the outset, on the very first page of his Choice Dialogues, Checkley struck out hard against "one Dr. Edwards," who had been attempting to corrupt "our excellent Church" with the notions of election and predestination. John Edwards was an Anglican divine, the last proponent of Calvinism within the Church of England. Edwards ultimately became important to Moody's understanding of the debate between Calvinism and Arminianism for two years after Moody read Checkley, he read Edwards's The Preacher, and a year later he engaged in an open discussion of Arminian doctrines⁶ with his friend Seth Storer (1702-1774), a 1720 graduate of Harvard College. One may conclude that Checkley's book introduced Moody to Edwards, if he

had not known him previously. Edwards's attack on Daniel Whitby, an Anglo-Arminian divine whose significance for Moody we shall consider in chapter VII, may have served to whet Moody's appetite for more insight into the nature of Arminianism as an alternative to the predestinarian dogma that damned him. In any case, it is probable that Checkley's work in one way or another led Moody toward his fateful encounter with Arminianism.

Checkley's Choice Dialogues were set forth as a conversation between "a Godly Minister" and an "Honest Country-Man." The country-man, who provides the opportunity for the minister to discourse on Checkley's version of Anglican theology, expressed the fear that the doctrine of election, as defined by the Calvinists, "will take our Free Will and transform us into something worse than Brutes." Calvinists make God the author of sin, the countryman declared, because they condemn men to hell for sins which God has put out of their power to avoid. Calvin's God has created men on purpose to make them miserable. To this the minister replies that because of this doctrine the Lutherans accused the Calvinists of worshipping the devil. God does indeed punish the wicked, but out of justice, not cruelty. Only a cruel God, he declared, would create men in order to damn them. In fact, only those who have free will are capable of sinning and thus being punished.

Men can neither do good deeds nor think good thoughts without the assistance of divine grace, Checkley declared through his characters. But men are able to, and must, work

with God and will to do good. There was of course nothing distinctively Arminian about the notion that men ought to cooperate with God. No Calvinist ever stated that men ought not to work with God in the matter of salvation. The difference between the Arminian view and Calvinism, for Checkley, lay in the words he could put in the mouth of his adversaries.

Checkley sought to discredit the scriptural basis for predestination. There are, Checkley admitted, passages of scripture that support predestination, if taken literally. But a literal interpretation is the basis of the Calvinist misunderstanding of scripture. Checkley argued that because God accommodates Himself to man's limited capacities, even the words foreknowledge and predestination do not mean what they seem to mean. For God all things are eternally present, and so there is no predestination or foreordaining. Perhaps Moody wondered how Checkley knew this about God, his mortal capacities being as limited as those of other men. But it is more likely that Moody was impressed for the moment at least with Checkley's logic. What we do know of Moody's response is that within the period of the diary he gave serious attention to Arminian ideas and that within fourteen years he felt it necessary to make a public disavowal of his own Arminian tendencies.

To assume, said Checkley, that there is a time past in God and that the decree is already past is to spread confusion. If the decree is past, then there is no free will, and without free will no man can choose the right, and the promises

and warnings of scripture have no meaning. Let us understand, Checkley declared, that predestination is only a word suited for man's finite capacities and "not to be strictly and philosophically inquired into." Nothing certain can yet be said about man's destiny. Man must work with God as a farmer works with the ground and the sun. He cannot produce a crop that he does not sow. The principal difference between Arminianism and Calvinism, according to Checkley, is that in the former man must do the sowing, and in the latter, God.

The Calvinist doctrine of predestination, Checkley argued, denies that Christ died for all men. The doctrine of limited atonement states that Christ died only for the elect. According to Checkley and Arminians generally, Christ died for all men. Salvation, however, depends on the free will response of man to the offer of divine grace.

The impact of Checkley's Choice Dialogues went far beyond the theological significance of the work which was minimal. It had little more polemical value than the attacks of Keith upon Willard. There was, however, a broader, stronger and more persistent negative reaction to Checkley's attack than to Keith's. The reasons for this were several: the political implications of the work, Checkley's earlier influence on individuals such as Cotton Mather's nephew Thomas Walter, and the growing challenge to the traditional New England concept of ordination by the local church and association. In regard to the last, the influence and example of the Brattles and Benjamin Coleman from the one side and the exclusive

claims of the Anglicans on the other were disturbing considerations for defenders of the established order in New England.

Checkley was a non-juror, one of a dwindling number of Englishmen who refused the oath of allegiance to William and Mary in 1688, and who looked upon the dominant Whig party and those of the Anglican Church who collaborated with the Hanoverian regime as traitors. The real situation in England, however, was characterized by a moderate latitudinarianism which brought Anglicans and Dissenters closer together in mutual understanding, if not in ecclesiastical matters. Charles Leslie, who provided the model for Checkley's attack on the New England establishment, regarded all forms of dissent as heresy and the claims of the Jacobite Anglican Church as unimpeachably valid on the basis of faith and reason. Checkley translated Leslie's criticisms into an attack upon the validity of Calvinism and "Presbyterian" ordination, and for his pains was convicted of slander by the Massachusetts General Court in 1723 for publishing Leslie's A Short and Easy Method With the Deists.

Checkley was no Timothy Cutler, Samuel Johnson, or even a John Beach.⁷ He was regarded with apprehension in England as well as in America, and he was not able to obtain orders in England until 1739, at the age of fifty-nine. But he was nevertheless a harbinger of problems to come for the New England ecclesiastical establishment. As the ringleader of an anti-Puritan group of young radicals he drew into his circle

no less a person than the brilliant young nephew of Cotton Mather, Thomas Walter, the second son of Nehemiah Walter. An exasperated Mather threatened to cast young Thomas off because of his "fatal Entanglements," as he had once renounced a wayward son.⁸ Walter soon returned to the fold, however, and was properly ordained in 1718, the year in which Moody graduated from Harvard. Checkley took the occasion to deliver himself of some slighting comments on grandfather Increase Mather's ordination address. That set the stage for Walter's caustic reply to Checkley in 1720. Moody not only apparently read Walter's "refutation" but seems to have had an intimate knowledge of Walter's defection and recovery. Moody, incidentally, probably knew Walter's publication on singing by note, as reflected in his own interest in this new mode of singing.

In his reply to Checkley, Walter defended the doctrine of predestination by attacking the specious reasoning of Checkley. The form of his attack was a caustic and ironic dialogue between a "conjurer" and one "Jack Tory," his friend. The political overtones of his satire were evident in his signing the work as "Christopher Whigg." Walter anticipated C. S. Lewis's Screwtape Letters with a dialogue between two servants of the devil. Checkley had insinuated that Calvinists worshipped the devil, and Walter sought to turn the trick by characterizing John the Conjurer (non-juror?) as in the employ of the devil. "You must not wonder at it, that when you say, the God of the Calvinists is more cruel than the Devil, the Devil should applaud himself for having a man, John, who bids

so hopefully to out-do his Master." Walter's strongest point against Checkley was that Calvinism was the original theological system of the Church of England.

When Cotton Mather wrote Walter's obituary after his untimely death five years later,⁹ he chose to pass over in silence Walter's early affair with the Checkley group, but for Walter, in his final illness, his youthful misadventure had not been atoned for by his repudiation of Checkley. Mather dutifully recorded that Walter "over and over again went thorough [sic] that Process of Repentance, in which he made his just Reflections on all the Errors of a Vain Youth . . . often saying, I have been a wretched Fool; the greatest Fool in the World!" Mather described Walter's repeated attempts to confirm the saving work of God, by first abasing himself and then by affirming again and again, as if to make certain of his salvation, the work of Christ on his behalf. Moody, who read the account of Walter's conversion shortly after he read Checkley's dialogues and the refutation, undoubtedly knew of Walter's death-bed crisis of faith in 1725. What effect that may have had on Moody in terms of his own expectations can only be conjectured, but it may be observed that for all Walter's defense of the doctrine of predestination and claims to being effectually converted, the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, the cornerstone of a personal appropriation of the doctrine of election, provided little comfort for him during his final illness.

Puritans of old and New England were transfixed by the

spiritual states of dying men, as if seeing their own deaths mirrored in the deaths of others. Richard F. Lovelace, citing the well-known instances of those notable Puritan pastors, Paul Baynes and Richard Greenham, who died in despair of their salvation after long and productive careers, observes that these experiences of profound anxiety and uncertainty were common among Puritans, and that "the quicksands of subjectivity involved in this practice [of magnifying God's sovereignty by entertaining the likelihood of their own reprobation] swallowed up many a soul in despair."¹⁰ Lovelace observes that Mather was well aware that preoccupation with the doctrine of election did on occasion lead to despair and spiritual illness. Mather recognized specifically that Shepard's The Sincere Convert wounded many tender souls by Shepard's insistence that the doctrine of election should take precedence over the apparent faith of the believer.¹¹ But Mather himself applied the lash when he declared that for everyone there is a terminus gratiae, and that beyond a certain but undiscernable point one's prayers for grace will no longer be answered.¹² On other occasions Mather insisted that grace was boundless, and that those who were truly concerned about their souls still might obtain mercy. The effect of these contradictory statements was to encourage uncertainty among his hearers and readers. It should be observed, however, that Mather's terminus gratiae as well as his notion of boundless mercy had nothing to do with the doctrine of election. If one's predestination or reprobation had been determined before Adam's

fall it was beside the point to talk of the boundary of divine grace or of boundless mercy.

It seems clear, nevertheless, that the "theocentric anxiety" experienced by Walter was deeply rooted in a predestinarian perspective. He seems to have feared that God had passed him by, and that he had no power to change his destiny. This was essentially Moody's perspective also. Yet Moody's preparationist activity diminished after he began openly discussing Arminian ideas with Seth Storer in the summer of 1723. This is evident in the sharp decline in the frequency of his negative self-assessments in the diary. Moody shifted away from preparationist activity during the period from August 1723 to November 1724, when he concluded his diary. During this period his interests became increasingly secular. In mid-March, 1724, Moody was chosen town clerk, Moody seriously considered giving up his pastoral charge at the Upper Parish in York, a matter which he seems to have shared with others. This we know from a stern admonition by one Mrs. Matchet of Gloucester, where Moody was visiting Lucy White, not to "abandon the preaching of the gospel."¹³ Moody's time was taken up more and more with teaching school, writing deeds and wills, attending to the town clerk's duties, studying law, and traveling frequently on business of one sort or another, as well as preparing sermons (Moody, unlike his father, usually preached from manuscripts) and visiting the sick. An indication of the pressures of Moody's work load and of changing concerns are shorter diary entries appearing more frequently in English

after May of 1724. Moody was not, however, able to escape the demands of preparationist-predestinarian theology, as his mid-life crisis of later years attests. And he remained a pastor even though he knew himself to be, by preparationist standards, unconverted and unregenerate.

John Edwards's The Preacher appears to have had a significant influence on Moody's perception of himself as a pastor.¹⁴ He had borrowed the book from his brother-in-law Joseph Emerson of Malden, and read the 400 page volume in four days, noting that he had applied himself diligently to it. We may ask what it was that so captivated Moody's attention. Edwards regarded preaching as the principal means by which God touches the heart of the sinner. But he also had something to say concerning the preacher's responsibility, even though he might be unregenerate, a point Moody would not have missed.

Praying and reading the scriptures, said Edwards, are divinely ordained ways of leading men to conversion and repentance, but it is preaching which is more often the effectual means of bringing souls to God. Few are converted except by the word of a preacher. Ministers should preach for the conversion of their hearers, because most auditors are still unregenerate. Edwards did not insist, however, as Gilbert Tennent did later during the Great Awakening, that every minister must be himself converted or regenerate to be serviceable as a minister. A minister ought indeed to have an "In-

ward feeling of Religion" to be successful as a preacher.

"Affection and Experience give Men words" to make the effective preachers to be sure, "but this is not said as if every Minister of the Word that is not Regenerate, were of no use in the Church, and that his Preaching (as well as the other Performances in his Office) were wholly unprofitable."¹⁵

Edwards then cited Augustine to show that "the Efficacy of the Ministry doth not ultimately depend upon the worthy or unworthy Carriage of the Dispenser, but upon the Power of God, and the Merciful Design of Heaven."¹⁶ The ineffectiveness of the minister or his personal failings and sins hinder the work, but these matters cannot defeat the power of God or thwart his intended mercies. The greatest harm is done to the delinquent preacher himself, not to his hearers. Edwards position at that point was very close to the Roman Catholic view that the priestly function of its clerics are ex opere operato, that is, the sacramental benefits are bestowed upon the communicant irrespective of the merits of the priest. Edwards was also close to the position of scholastic Reformed theology, which emphasized doctrinal purity and orthodoxy rather than personal religious experience. But his position was also in marked contrast to the position of the German Pietists who, like American revivalists and evangelicals, held that a dynamic conversion experience was essential prior to entrance into the ministry. The German Pietists, who drew much of their inspiration from the translations of Richard Baxter's writings into German, agreed with Baxter that

justification was meaningless as mere doctrine, apart from a new-birth experience. The consensus of the point of view that became identified in America during and after the Great Awakening as evangelicalism was that God works effectively in the heart only after the experience of regeneration. Before that, man is a lost sinner, and his efforts are to no avail. With this Moody would have agreed, as far as his own salvation was concerned, but he also believed that God could find use for a preacher who was still unregenerate. That conviction, which kept him in the ministry despite his unregenerate state, he owed in part, at least, to John Edwards. And that despite his gloomy appraisal of his eternal prospects in the light of the doctrine of predestination.

Moody's reading of Richard Baxter's Reliquiae was his first encounter with an alternative to predestinarian doctrine within the Puritan tradition.¹⁷ In early December 1722, he began reading the account of Baxter's life, concluding on December 12. The next day he reviewed "some notable passages" in the work. The same day he also glanced at one or more of Shepard's writings, but laid them aside, noting that he had difficulty reading Shepard because of his own lightheartedness, and because he now found that Shepard was repulsive to him.¹⁸ The apparent cause of Moody's disenchantment with Shepard was in part that he had discovered an alternative to Shepard's preparationist-predestinarianism in Baxter.

The volume on Baxter was a borrowed copy, as is evident

from his diary entry for December 29, 1722, in which he noted that he did nothing but transcribe from the Reliquiae. If the book had been his own, he would not have transcribed passages from it except for brief portions for use in sermons. A perusal of Baxter's Life reveals that Baxter was unable to relate to the normative pattern of preparationist experience. Conversion was for Baxter not the best means of attaining divine grace. He regarded education as the ordinary way for the conveyance of God's grace.¹⁹ In his Aphorisms of Justification, Baxter attempted to reconcile Calvinism and Arminianism, the thought of which was anathema to all preparationists. And, as if that were not enough, Baxter made justification contingent on man's good works. Hall observes that Baxter made no converts in New England with his view that common grace tended toward special grace.²⁰ That may well be, but Baxter provided Moody and presumably other New Englanders with an alternative to the preparationist-predestinarian theology of New England Calvinists.

Baxter's Reliquiae opened to Moody a new perspective on faith, religious experience, and conversion different from the one in which he had been nurtured by his father and in which he had been indoctrinated at Harvard College, where classic predestinarian theology was still being taught, if no longer enthusiastically articulated. Baxter's self-analysis is actually his review of his life and a noting of the changes that had taken place in his attitudes toward religion and religious experience. Baxter concluded, after a

lifetime engaged in religious controversies, that it was futile to dispute differences of religious opinion, but rather that one ought to seek to find common ground with one's opponents and make that the basis of mutually edifying discourse about religion. Baxter reflected an attitude that was increasingly common among churchmen and dissenters alike in old England, and a point of view that, in the eighteenth-century would win increasing favor in New England. Moody's enthusiastic response to Baxter's Reliquiae was a sign of things to come in a New England that was becoming more English and more liberal.

Baxter recommended that his readers become familiar with Aquinas, Scotus, Ockham, and "Arminiensis." He himself had been spiritually awakened by reading a devotional manual by a Jesuit reworked as Bunny's Resolution. His catholic interests led him to conclude that there was benefit to be derived from many diverse sources. He had come to believe that "truths certain in themselves" are held in varying degrees of certainty by the believer. In no case, said Baxter, may subjective certainty go beyond objective evidence. He determined that there was a gradation of things certain, beginning with his certainty that he was a man. This was, in Baxter's scale of things certain, prior to his certainty that there is a God. Things least certain were the meanings of many particular texts of scripture, and, consequently, the truth of many particular doctrines. A major premise of New England Calvinism was that particular biblical texts supporting key doctrines

were in effect self-evident and could be known and understood with certainty. One of these key doctrines, of course, was the doctrine of predestination which demanded unquestioned assent, according to the tenets of New England Calvinism. One who gave thoughtful consideration to Baxter's point of view might well begin to ponder the truth of accepted Puritan doctrine.

Another aspect of Baxter's religious pilgrimage might well have caused Moody to ponder the course of his own. Baxter had moved from subjective piety to an objective affirmation of his faith. In his early years he had been more concerned with the doctrine of regeneration and with the marks of a sincere faith. "I was once wont," he confessed, to meditate on my own heart, and to dwell at home, and look little higher."²¹ Formerly he spent his spiritual energy either pouring over his sins and failings or examining his sincerity. Later he had come to see the greater worth and importance of objective affirmations of faith in Christ, thoughts of God and heaven, "than upon my own heart." In short, Baxter had broken with the preparationist model of spiritual discipline for a life of joyous contemplation of the love and mercy of God in Christ, the antithesis of Shepard's preparationist theology. Little wonder, then, that Moody laid aside Shepard in favor of Baxter.

Baxter acknowledged his indebtedness to the gentle Puritanism of Richard Sibbes (1577-1635). At an early age he had read Sibbes's Bruised Reed, which, as Baxter put it, "suited my state" and led him to see redemption more in terms of the

love of God than in terms of preparation and predestination, which he knew through his reading of Boulton, Hooker, and Rogers. Baxter made clear his repudiation of preparationism and his adoption of Sibbes's perspective on the ready availability of divine grace to the sinner at the beginning of his autobiography.²² Like so many Puritans before and after him, his earliest attempts at attaining saving faith centered more on the fear of God rather than on love and grace, but as he matured he saw that fear was an obstacle rather than an aid to faith.

Moody's fascination with Baxter's Life obviously grew out of similarities with his own experience. Moody, like Baxter, doubted whether he was regenerate because his grief for sin and sense of humiliation were not greater, and because tears of contrition no longer flowed.²³ Moody seldom wept, although his emotions ran deep. He often chided himself because his sense of guilt and humiliation were so slight and because he was so little moved by religious concerns. His persistent reminders to himself of his failings in these matters, however, belied his self-proclaimed indifference. If he had been truly indifferent, there would have been no diary.

There is still another striking parallel between the religious experience of Baxter and Moody. Baxter observed, in reflecting upon the sins of his youth, that deliberate and conscious sin had stood in the way of assurance, and that he had concluded that "he that could sin upon knowledge and deliberation had no true Grace . . . [and that] after all that I had

felt, I thought it unlikely that ever I should have any [grace]." We do not know specifically the nature of the sins that troubled Baxter in his youth, but Moody confessed his besetting sin regularly and vividly. As Moody succumbed to his habit of masturbation again and again, he came to see the habit as a sign of his reprobation. Like Baxter, he admitted that many times he indulged himself deliberately, and like Baxter, doubted that he ever would have grace because of it. Baxter's solution to his spiritual dilemma was to repudiate the doctrine of marks and signs that were the central feature of preparationist-predestinarian theology. Rather than looking to a primeval divine decree as the determinant of human destiny, Baxter declared, "I am more sensible [now] how much it is the will of Christ that every man be the chooser or refuser of his own felicity."²⁴ We have noted above that Moody's preoccupation with preparationist activity and with predestination declined during the final year of the diary, with the lowest frequency of negative self-assessment appearing in the last five months. It is worth observing that Moody recorded no instances of masturbation during that period. One may conclude either that he no longer masturbated, or that he no longer regarded the habit as a sign of his reprobation. Moody's changing attitude toward himself and toward the theological assumptions of his faith was apparently due to the influence of Baxter and his exposure to Arminianism.

Although Baxter's views had some affinity with those of the Arminians on the matter of God's decrees and the willing

of sin, he never admitted to Arminianism, and although his adversary, John Owen, wrote against him and opposed him on several occasions, Owen did not identify Baxter with the Arminians. Daniel Whitby, however, in his defense of his own Arminianism against John Edwards, cited Baxter to show that his views were close to those of Whitby on the matter of predestination. Baxter's views may then have encouraged Moody to explore Arminianism as an alternative to predestinarian theology.

On the afternoon of August 21, 1723, Seth Storer (1702-1774) came from Wells on his way to Boston and visited Moody in the school he was teaching at the home of Job Curtis. That evening Moody talked freely with Storer about "Arminian doctrines," and about the workings of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of his father and of John White, his future father-in-law. Why these two concerns surfaced in the same conversation is not apparent. It is possible that the intolerance of the older men toward Arminianism was taken by Moody and Storer as a sign that the Holy Spirit had not worked effectively in their hearts, but such an assumption would be no better than speculation. What is clear is that a young man with a rigid Calvinist background was discussing a proscribed theological system with a friend a decade before Arminianism became a public issue in Puritan New England. A reasonable question at this point is how Arminianism was introduced into the new world citadel of Calvinism.

NOTES: CHAPTER VII

¹ Thomas Walter, A Choice Dialogue Between John Faustus, a Conjurer and Jack Tory-His Friend. Occasioned by some Choice Dialogues lately published, concerning Predestination and Election (Boston, 1720). Walter may have intended a pun on the word "conjurer." John Checkley, his opponent, was a non-juror.

² John Checkley, Choice Dialogues Between a Godly Minister and an Honest Country-Man, Concerning Election & Predestination. Detecting the false Principles of a certain Man, who calls himself a Presbyter of the Church of England [a reference to John Edwards, against whom Checkley directed his attack] (Boston, 1719).

³ Edmund F. Slafter, John Checkley, or Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts, I (New York, 1966), 152, 153. Slafter's title is misleading, as Checkley contributed nothing to the cause of religious toleration.

⁴ For the material on Keith and Willard I am indebted to Seymour Van Dyken, Samuel Willard: 1640-1707, Preacher of Orthodoxy in an Era of Change (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1972).

⁵ David D. Hall, The Faithful Shepherd, A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1972), 271ff.

⁶ The Latin phrase Moody wrote in his diary, "de Armini[i] dogmatibus" (concerning Arminian doctrines) may refer to a discussion of Arminian doctrines in general, to John Edwards's The Arminian Doctrines Condemned by Holy Scripture, or to Daniel Whitby's Four Discourses in defense of Arminianism. If Moody meant that he and Storer were discussing Arminian doctrines in general, it must be assumed that the discussion was based on something one or the other, or both, had read.

⁷ These men were dissenters from New England Congregationalism who received Anglican orders in England and had returned to organize and become rectors of Episcopal Churches in New England.

⁸ Cotton Mather, The Diary of Cotton Mather, Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 7th Ser., VIII (Boston, 1911), 232, 363-364.

- 9 Cotton Mather, Christodulus (Boston, 1725).
- 10 Richard F. Lovelace, The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979), 86.
- 11 Ibid., 87.
- 12 Ibid., 88.
- 13 Moody diary ms., April 20, 1724.
- 14 John Edwards, The Preacher (London, 1705). Moody diary ms., September 1-3, 1722.
- 15 Edwards, The Preacher, 328.
- 16 Ibid., 328-329.
- 17 Richard Baxter, Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. by Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696).
- 18 Moody diary ms., December 13, 1722: "I reviewed some of the notable passages in the Life of Baxter. I read somewhat in Shepard, who I am hardly ever able to read [now] because of my habitual lightheartedness [solita levitate], so that usually my heart shrinks from him [plerumque cor meum et eo abhorret]."
- 19 Hall, Faithful Shepherd, 62.
- 20 Ibid., 260.
- 21 N. H. Keeble, ed., The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, (Totowa, N. J., 1974), 113. This edition is much abridged.
- 22 Baxter, Reliquiae, 6.
- 23 Ibid., 6.
- 24 Keeble, ed., Autobiography of Baxter, 116.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INTRODUCTION OF ANGLO-ARMINIANISM INTO NEW ENGLAND

Moody's encounter with Arminian doctrines gives us a glimpse of the process that introduced Arminianism into the New England scene. This process, viewed at close range, reveals something quite different from the commonly accepted explanation for the emergence of Arminianism in Puritan New England. Arminianism entered as part of the process of Anglicization that became increasingly significant for New England in the early eighteenth century.

Perry Miller has argued, mistakenly it seems, that Arminianism was latent in New England covenant theology and preparationist theory and practice from the beginning. Until the past decade the Miller thesis has been virtually unchallenged, and its persistence serves to inhibit the search to uncover the process by which Arminianism was introduced into New England. Conrad Wright, going beyond Miller, contributes to the dulling of theological distinctions by declaring, "In actual fact, most New England Calvinists asserted that man was a free moral agent in about the same terms that the Arminians used."¹ Wright, like Miller, saw no change in the views of New England Calvinists over time,² and ignored their essential loyalty to Calvin.³ Wright assumes that the transition from Calvinism to explicit Arminianism was a gradual process be-

cause New England Puritanism was characterized by a "latent ambiguity" in the form of covenant theology.⁴ He does not document this assumption, however, but traces the beginnings of Unitarianism in America to Charles Chauncy (1705-1787), Jonathan Mayhew (1720-1766), and Ebenezer Gay (1718-1796), who were, according to Wright, the seedbed of the new movement. Wright holds that the inception of the Arminian movement lay in the social and intellectual situation on New England in the early eighteenth century, that it was in the main indigenous, and that it was, like Unitarianism which sprang from it, "largely independent in its early stages of similar tendencies in English thought."⁵ For Wright, New England Arminianism was a form of religious liberalism, and he takes no notice of the fact that nineteenth century revivalism was Arminian. The movement began, according to Wright, among a decision-making elite centered in Boston, and developed out of "the pressure of social as well as intellectual forces" within New England itself, although Wright admits that colonial Arminians owed much to men like Archbishop Tillotson, Daniel Whitby, Samuel Clark, and John Taylor of Norwich.

C. C. Goen, who writes of Wright's work as still the best summary treatment of Arminianism before the Great Awakening,⁶ repeats the dictum concerning the "latent ambiguity" in the traditional patterns of Puritan orthodoxy. Edwards and other evangelicals, according to Goen, rejected pre-awakening ideas of conversion as based in varying degrees on Arminian propositions. He cites Thomas Prince's Christian History as

"massive evidence of this."⁷ Goen, however, notes that it may not have reflected the actual theological situation, except to show that some new battle lines had been drawn.

In passing, it may be noted, that Prince's Christian History holds German Pietism in high regard, as Edwards also did, but that German Pietism was anthropologically and theologically closer to Arminianism than it was to Calvinism. But Pietism had at least this in common with Calvinism: it stressed the need for a definite personal experience of conversion. It is true that Calvinists later found common ground with Arminians in the revivals that followed the Great Awakening, but prior to the Awakening Arminian views of the conversion experience were regarded by Calvinists as being too heavily weighted with the notions of free will and human ability. The German Pietists, from their inception in the seventeenth century, insisted on rigorous and personal moral and spiritual discipline on the part of all who made a profession of faith. It was, perhaps, this aspect of Pietism--certainly not their theological views--that made the movement attractive to many orthodox Puritans. In the same way Arminianism of the Wesleyan movement proved to be more acceptable because of the rigorous spiritual discipline of the Methodists rather than its weakened Calvinists.

There was obviously an Arminian influence in New England prior to the Great Awakening. But what was its source? Cotton Mather in 1726 denied that there were any Arminians among the clergy of the New England churches.⁸ Yet in 1734 John White,

Moody's father-in-law, published New England Lamentations, warning of the dangers of Arminian principles and bemoaning the involvement of "some of our Young Men" in the Arminian scheme. Jonathan Edwards published A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in 1736, noting the "great noise" about Arminianism in western Massachusetts as the revivals began in 1734. In 1737 Samuel Moody published an anonymous tract entitled A Faithful Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with a Person Lately Recovered from the Dangerous Errors of Arminius. Sometime between August 1723, when Moody discussed the implications of Arminian doctrines with Seth Storer, and the mid-1730's, Arminianism, it seems had "come out of the closet" to become an embarrassment and a threat to New England orthodoxy. By looking at the way in which Moody came in contact with Arminianism and the form in which it was expressed, we gain insight into the process of change in theological perspective in colonial New England.

Daniel Whitby's Four Discourses (London, 1710) was, as Perry Miller has observed, the first Arminian theological treatise to be widely read in New England.⁹ It was the only scholarly exposition of the Arminian position generally available in New England until the publication of John Taylor's: The Scriptural Doctrine of Original Sin Propounded to a Free and Candid Examination in 1738. Charles Chauncy's first attack upon the revival, The Late Religious Commotions in New England Considered, was not published until 1743, followed by his

Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion. Jonathan Mayhew was still orthodox and pious enough in 1741 to leave "the safety of Harvard Yard" to travel to York to witness awakened sinners roll in the highways and byways of religious ecstasy.¹⁰ But by 1747, when he was ordained, he was the first openly avowed Arminian in a Puritan pulpit in New England.¹¹ Still, Arminianism was abroad in the land long before it became an issue in the Great Awakening. Its initial impact was in terms of its ideational content, not as a reaction to religious excitement. The seed of Arminianism was sown by the importation of the Edwards-Whitby controversy.

Moody knew John Edwards through his reading of The Preacher. We should not suppose that Moody made a note of everything he read; he certainly did not record every significant event of his life.¹² It is reasonable to assume that he also read Edwards's The Arminian Doctrines Condemned by the Holy Scriptures, which was directed against Whitby's Four Discourses, and that he was led to read Whitby's work as a result of interest created in the subject by Edwards's attack upon it. Unlike his father, Moody often gave a favorable hearing to views he could not endorse.¹³ Certainly, during the diary years Moody entertained a wide variety of views, and appears to have been moving toward a more tolerant attitude toward Arminian theology, due in part at least to his disenchantment with preparationism.

John Edwards (1637-1716),¹⁴ the second son of Thomas Edwards (1599-1647), was the last prominent Calvinist divine

within the Church of England. His father, nicknamed "Young Luther," was the author of Gangraena: or a Catalogue and Discovery of many Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time (London, 1646), which described in virulent language 16 sorts of sectaries, 180 errors or heresies, and 28 kinds of pernicious practices in the churches. He also wrote A Treatise Against Toleration (1647) and against independency.

John Edwards was ordained a deacon in the Church of England by Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, who recognized his ability as a preacher. Edwards wrote extensively against Socinianism, and has been sometimes confused with the English Jonathan Edwards, who wrote on the same subject. He also replied to John Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity and Locke's book on Education. He defended Baxter, wrote several books of biblical interpretation, and became publicly involved in a controversy over Arminianism with the publication of his Veritas Redux in 1707-1708. This three volume work sought to restore "evangelical truths" by a defense of God's eternal decrees, the liberty of man's will, grace, conversion and perseverance, and the perseverance of the elect in grace. For this he was attacked by Whitby in the Four Discourses of 1710, to which Edwards replied in the same year and again in 1711 with his Arminian Doctrines Condemned.

Whitby's attack began with a defense of his exegesis of Paul's letter to the Romans, chapter nine. Whitby had taken the position, in his highly regarded Paraphrase and Annota-

tions of the New Testament, that Romans nine makes no reference to personal election or reprobation, and that the election mentioned by Paul refers to the calling of the gentiles into the church not to the calling of individuals. In his Four Discourses, Whitby reviewed these points, and argued that a Calvinistic exegesis of Paul's letters, along with Edwards's assertions that God's foreknowledge of all future events depends on God's decrees and that the view that God had decreed the commission of sin was false, blasphemous, and in effect made God the author of sin.

The personal invective spewed out by both men was bitter, but the issue was much deeper than their personal animosities. The clue to the issue is in Whitby's reference to and quotations from the writings of Bishop Henry Hammond (1605-1660).¹⁵ Hammond represents the direction the Church of England took after the Restoration. He had staunchly defended the priority of God's foreknowledge in relation to the decrees, advocated tolerance, and preferred theological discourse to polemic. He wrote a prefatory letter to The Whole Duty of Man, the model for Anglican devotion, and with the publication of his Paraphrase and Annotation upon all the books of the New Testament gained recognition as the father of English biblical criticism. Whitby's own Paraphrase, which receives respectful attention in New England, even from Jonathan Edwards, was modeled on Hammond's work.

Whitby drew heavily on Hammond's work to support his argument against Edwards. God has not decreed all the sins of

men, Whitby declared. All who believe the scriptures and what they say about guilt for sin and judgment to come will perceive this. The doctrines of the Calvinists concerning predestination and irresistible grace, Hammond had said, are not only irreconcilable to the common notions of morality and Christianity, but also to the actuality of future judgment.

Whitby quoted freely from Hammond's letters to Sander-son, Edwards's first Bishop, to show that the Calvinist position had proven untenable even to the one to whom Edwards was indebted for his ordination.¹⁶ Although Hammond's argument against Calvinism was less polemical and more philosophical¹⁷ than Whitby's, the latter carefully outlined the major points against Calvinism that Hammond had detailed.

Whitby was particularly sensitive to Edwards's charge that Arminians were willing to cashier the epistles of Paul because, according to Edwards, their defense of human freedom was essentially a denial of the sinfulness of human nature. Whitby protested that English divines did not in fact deny that man's nature had been corrupted by sin, that man's will was naturally inclined to what was unlawful, and that they believed men were saved only by special grace. Edwards proclaimed "two prodigious Lyes," Whitby declared, when he (Edwards) asserted that English divines of Arminian persuasion hold that God cannot convert men without their consent and that the will of man can defeat the purpose of God.

Edwards had insinuated that the Arminians espoused a universalism akin to Socinianism. Whitby again relied on

Hammond to refute the charge: "God never decreed, to save final Impenitents, . . . on the contrary, such shall be damned." Christ had no intention of dying for those who would reject him. He foreknew and foresaw who these would be, but he did not decree their destiny before he foresaw their response to the gospel.

Moody's anxiety concerning the doctrine of election would not have been resolved by his exposure to such an Arminianism. Whitby made it clear that neither he nor Hammond accepted the idea that the doctrine of decrees could be set aside completely. Election or predestination was still a matter of concern for Anglo-Arminians. They were still, for the most part, committed to the idea of God's election of certain individuals. The point at issue between the Calvinists and the Arminians was how that election was determined, whether by God's decree prior to man's moral choices or after God had foreseen the outcome of a man's life. Calvinists insisted on absolute predestination, ante praevisa merita, before foreseen merit, and the Anglo-Arminians argued that predestination was contingent upon what God foresaw man's moral response to be, that is, post praevisa merita, after foreseen merit. In either case, however, there was ample room for anxiety on the part of the believing seeker. From the Calvinist perspective, God had by absolute and immutable decree from all eternity determined the destiny of each individual, and there was nothing that could be done to change it. The anxious seeker could only

look for signs of grace and hope that even the weakest sign of grace was a portend of positive assurance. From the Arminian side, although God awaited the foreseen results of man's moral choices before making a determination of man's eternal destiny, what God foresaw was inexorable and man by his own effort could not alter what God already knew to be the outcome.

The introduction of Anglo-Arminianism into New England was thus hardly a breath of fresh air for troubled souls like Moody. The doctrine of foreknowledge was a step away from the rigors of supralapsarian Calvinism to be sure, but the substitution of God's eternal foreknowledge of man's election or reprobation for God's predestination was a small reward for those who had foresaken the stern comfort of the doctrine of decrees. Moody took the step toward Arminianism as a result of his exposure to imported Arminian books which were "much esteemed in England," but later, after much personal anguish, he retreated to "that sweet doctrine" in which he had been nurtured under his father's preparationist-predestinarian preaching.¹⁸

The attraction of Arminianism to those who had begun to doubt and question Calvinism was not in its repudiation of the doctrine of decrees so much as in its perspective on the nature of God. The God of the Calvinists predestined or reprobated men solely on the basis of His own will. Thus Whitby spoke of the Calvinist interpretation of Romans chapter 9 as "highly dishonorable to our gracious God." God, according to

Whitby, had elected or chosen nations and peoples, not individuals. The destiny of the individual was determined by whether the individual responded to the proffered salvation through Christ's death with deeds of faith. Whitby and the Arminians discoursed on the mercy of God rather than on decrees and election. Shepard and the preparationists, as we have seen, followed a strict Calvinist line by preaching terror instead of mercy, the preaching of which they regarded as misleading when addressed to the unregenerate.

For God to have decreed a man's reprobation, or rather, to say that God had done so, was to attribute to God the commission of sin. "Evil never can proceed immediately from [God] who hath an absolute freedom from it," and a holy God cannot harden any man, Whitby declared. But Whitby was not able to escape completely from the orbit of predestinarianism. God judges men, he said, by leaving them to their own lusts and by withdrawing the grace they have rejected. Only when men have made an irrevocable rebellion against him may it be said that God hardens their hearts. God, according to Whitby, foreknew who would rebel irrevocably, so the onus was upon man. A prior decree destroyed the liberty of man's actions, and so, said Whitby, the responsibility for man's sin was cast back upon God.

Yet Calvinists did not admit that predestination by prior decree denied man his freedom. For them, man acted according to his nature, and it was his nature to sin. Man acts freely according to his nature, John Edwards had declared, and so man

himself is the author of sin. The will of man is the source of evil, even though God by his permissive will allows it.

His acknowledgement that Edwards had so defined the relationship between human will and sin placed Whitby on the defensive. He argued that his statement that the Calvinist doctrine makes God the author of sin does not mean that God is by nature sinful, but simply that the Calvinist doctrine makes God the chief cause of the action which, in man, is sin.¹⁹ Whitby did not mean, he insisted, that man is not a sinner, only that there was no divine decree that requires him now to sin. Man is a sinner even without a decree of God making the doing of sinful acts necessary, so therefore such a decree is needless and superfluous. If a man lies under the necessity of doing sinful acts by divine decree, said Whitby, then the decree is the cause of his sin. Whitby's frustration with the logic of prior decrees is evident in his argument that Edwards's position would lead men to pray that they might sin, and that sin is good.²⁰ Edwards had acknowledged that evil in the world is useful and conducive to God's glory, reflecting his mercy through forgiveness of sin, manifesting his justice through judgment upon it, and revealing his wisdom through his defining its limits. But neither Edwards nor any other Calvinist would, of course, admit that God was the author of sin, or that sin was in itself good. What God was doing in the world, according to Calvinism, he was doing out of his secret, inscrutable, wisdom, and no one could require God to accommodate himself to man's standards of right and wrong.

In defending the honor of God, Whitby was in effect

defining God in human terms. If man wills sin out of love of sin, Whitby declared, it follows that if God were to will man's sin for his own glory, he should be judged by the same standard as man. If God were seen as willing sin in any sense, said Whitby, he would simply not measure up to the human moral ideal. Man must therefore be declared free in order to vindicate God's nature and to acquit God of the charge of being the author of sin. Whitby and the Arminians, we may observe, had made a significant shift away from the affirmation of the autonomy and sovereignty of God to a point of view by which the nature of God was to be measured by the standards of men.

Did ever any just Judge will, that any man should offend, that he might have occasion to condemn him to death . . . And shall we ascribe such an act of Justice to the Righteous Judge of all Men, which no earthly Judge thought fit ever to do, and which if it were done, all Men would condemn as the highest Injustice and the most execrable Iniquity.²¹

Whitby and the Arminians were morally offended by the God of the Calvinists because they perceived the attributes of God in human terms and judged them by human standards. When Whitby declared that the doctrine of decrees was repugnant to the holiness of God, he meant that the doctrine of decrees offended the criterion of human values by which the nature of God was defined by Anglo-Arminian theology. Whitby thus reduced sin to a temporal phenomenon, having its origin in the specific acts of the sinner, rather than in the ontological and existential condition of man's creaturehood.

In a little more than a generation the issue was brought into the open in New England by Edward Wigglesworth's Lecture on the Imputation of Adam's First Sin to His Posterity (Boston,

1739), in my opinion the best contemporary description of the process of the transformation of New England Calvinism.²² Wigglesworth recognized that the scholarly treatment of the doctrine of original sin had been ignored by New England authors, as Thomas Walter had also observed nearly two decades before, and that the subject of predestination was rarely mentioned anymore. But English authors had continued to make an impact on New England through imported books. New Englanders, Wigglesworth said, were loath to give up doctrines in which they had been educated to believe, but they were having an increasingly difficult time "to bear up against the Current of our English writers of the present, and the latter Part of the last Century, who are almost all against it."

Whitby's writings were at the forefront of the Anglo-Arminian incursion into New England. This may be seen in Jonathan Edwards's effort to deal with the issue. In 1747 Edwards wrote to Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790) concerning his own study of Arminianism in preparation for a defense against it. He needed additional books from England on the subject, he said, and that hitherto he had relied heavily on Whitby's works for his understanding of Arminianism. He asked Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Connecticut, to inquire of Dr. Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), rector of the Episcopal Church at Stratford, Connecticut, and of John Beach (1700-1782), rector of the Episcopal Churches at Newton and Redding, Connecticut, as to "the best Book on the Arminian side, for the defense of their notion of Free Will, & whether there be any better and more full then

Whitby."²³

The first serious impact of Anglo-Arminianism on New England, as we have seen, occurred in the early 1720's. Moody's encounter with it coincided with its emergence as an identifiable movement in New England.²⁴ Yet that encounter was not to result in an experience similar to that of men like Timothy Cutler and Samuel Johnson, who became Anglicans. The process of exposure to new ideas was essentially the same, though presumably on a less sophisticated level. Moody's situation also precluded a change of church affiliation. He reacted differently than they because of his profound preoccupation with personal religious concerns growing out of his rigorous immersion in the preparationist-predestinarianism of his father and through his reading of Shepard and other New England preparationists. Although he entertained Anglo-Arminian ideas, he did not have the inclination or the opportunity to defect from the Puritan tradition in which he had been nurtured. His classmate and early correspondent, Nathan Prince, was one of the few Harvard men who made the transition to Anglicanism. Although few New Englanders strayed from the Puritan fold, they were, many of them, increasingly subjected, like Moody, to the pressures of theological change during the first half of the eighteenth-century.

The disquiet that Moody felt concerning his rising doubts about the truth of Calvinism was not due entirely to his reading of Arminian literature. We have already noted the diffi-

culties he had in reading Shepard on preparationism. Hildersam's warnings of the spiritual dangers of presumption heightened his anxiety. His reading of Baxter's Reliquiae revealed to him that there were variations of Puritanism that departed from hard-line Calvinism while retaining an intense degree of personal piety. His reading of August Herrmann Francke's (1663-1727) Pietas Hallensis (1705), which described the work of the German Pietists, whose theological affinity to Arminianism was overlooked by Cotton Mather for the sake of practical considerations of Christian unity, troubled Moody, even though it inspired other New Englanders to give feet and hands to their affirmations of faith.²⁵ The work subtitled An Abstract of the Marvellous Footsteps of Divine Providence, contained a preface by Josiah Woodward, an Anglican divine who had written a history of the rise and progress of religious societies in England.²⁶ Moody was actively involved in a religious society in York during the diary years, and it seems to have played a significant role in his own religious pilgrimage. The society itself was modeled on the young people's societies described by the Mathers and Woodward, and on the society formed at Harvard College in 1719. Moody was aware, through his reading and experience at Harvard and in Boston, of the widespread use of religious societies for the encouragement of piety and morality within various religious traditions. This knowledge also would have encouraged him to consider alternatives to the preparationist-predestinarian scheme in which he had been nurtured.

Anglo-Arminianism entered the New England milieu in a wide variety of ways. It came by way of doctrinal statements of the Anglo-Arminian position set forth in the writings of Checkley, Benjamin Eastburn,²⁷ and Whitby, the first and the last of these three authors being known to have been read by Moody. The degree to which these works stimulated private discussion and thought cannot, of course, be determined, although both are evident in the Moody diary. The public airing of the Arminian position did, however, generate a spate of controversial books in England and America, as the Whitby-Edwards controversy and the Checkley controversy show. The Anti-Arminian literature did not necessarily succeed in weakening the Anglo-Arminian position in the minds of New Englanders, but it probably did stimulate greater interest in the "heresy" among New England Puritans. Moody's experience shows that Anglo-Arminianism had been sown widely throughout New England, and that it had penetrated even into the countryside, as early as the 1720's. It also shows that the Arminianism taking root in New England was not of an indigenous but of an imported variety.

NOTES: CHAPTER VIII

¹ Conrad Wright, "Edwards and the Arminians on Freedom of the Will," Harvard Theological Review 36, October 1942, 241-242.

² Ibid. Wright cites Timothy Dwight's Theology, I (Middletown, Connecticut, 1818), 248-249, to show that Dwight, a Calvinist, held that men were conscious of their own free agency, and that they acted spontaneously and freely. Calvin and the Calvinists, however, had always asserted this. Dwight, in fact, meant something different from earlier Calvinists because his Calvinism had already been compromised. Dwight therefore represents a rather late stage of New England Calvinism.

³ The work of two contemporary scholars, among others, is essential for a fair criticism of the Miller thesis; see William Stoever, "Nature, Grace and John Cotton, The Theological Dimension in the New England Antinomian Controversy," Church History 44, 1975, 22-33, and also Stoever's A Faire and Easie Way to Heaven: Covenant Theology and Antinomianism in Early Massachusetts (Middletown, Connecticut, 1978). See also George M. Marsden, "Perry Miller's Rehabilitation of the Puritans: A Critique," Church History 39, 1970, 91-105.

⁴ Conrad Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America (Boston, 1955), 14.

⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁶ C. C. Goen, ed., Jonathan Edwards: The Great Awakening (New Haven, 1972), 6.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Cotton Mather, Ratio Disciplinae (Boston, 1726).

⁹ Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1959 [1949], 110.

¹⁰ Ibid., 322. Miller's observation that "During the Awakening, Mayhew had watched from the safety of Harvard Yard, whence he emerged in 1744 . . . with a white hatred for all

enthusiasts," does not agree entirely with the facts. Mayhew visited York, without the permission of his Harvard faculty, in 1742, and was at the time a sympathetic observer of the revival. Mayhew's letter to his brother Zachariah, March 26, 1742, gives an account of his first-hand observations while in York: "The Spirit seems to set the Word home in a very extraordinary Manner; so that some Persons who have scarcely thought of God, Heaven or Hell, seriously in all their Lives, have been not only pricked to the Heart, and forced to cry out in Meeting-Time . . . but some have been struck to the Ground in an Instant, as Paul was, and have remain[d] for some Time wholly speechless. Others have had their Sins so set in Order before them, that they were render'd incapable of expressing any Thing distinctly; and would seem to be in as much Distress as you could imagine a Person to be, who was cast into a Furnace; which Distress they express'd by their hideous Cryings and Yellings, and all the Distortions of Body which the acutest Torments could throw them into; but these who have been in such Agonies have not continued long without Consolation; some Three Weeks, (tho' not all the while in such Extremity) some a Fortnight, some a Week, some a few Days, and some but a few Hours: And when they receiv'd Joy, it came in no less an extraordinary Manner; some being so overcome with the Love of Christ, that their Bodily Strength quite failed them; they would fall to the Ground, and lay panting as though their Souls were dissolving, and ready to take their Flight, and leave the lifeless Clay . . ." For Mayhew's letter and his place in the revival atmosphere of the time, see Ross W. Beales, Jr., "'Our Hearts Are Traitors to Themselves': Jonathan Mayhew and the Great Awakening," Bulletin, Congregational Library, Boston, Spring-Summer, 1976, 4-8.

¹¹ Miller, Edwards, 322.

¹² For example, Boston Newsletter for July 30-August 6, 1724, reported that "On Friday night last [July 31], a dwelling house and most of the goods, etc. of the Reverend Mr. Joseph Emerson of Malden, were consumed by fire." Moody made no mention of the mishap which was a great loss to his sister and brother-in-law, either at that time or when he visited them in Malden on August 26.

¹³ In a 1728 sermon which the present author attributes to Joseph Moody, the preacher declares, in reference to the view that men of understanding reject the doctrine of election and that men are saved by believing, "thus plausibly argues the Arminian."

¹⁴ Dictionary of National Biography, VI, 539-541.

¹⁵ DNB, VIII, 1126-1130.

¹⁶ XAPIΣ KAI EIPHNH or A Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, In a Letter . . . to Rev. Dr. Robert Sanderson, The Works of the Reverend and Learned Henry Hammond, D. D., II (London, 1674), 549ff. Sanderson argued that God's grace was not bestowed irresistibly upon all men, but that it was nevertheless effectually irresistible upon those whom God ex beneplacito [out of His good pleasure] "appointed to salvation, in ordering the means, occasion, and opportunities," so that His will was not finally resisted by the elect.

¹⁷ For the Medieval background of Hammond's position, see Heiko Oberman, The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1967), chapter 7, "Between Fear and Hope: The Riddle of Predestination," especially pages 185-196.

¹⁸ A Faithful Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with a Person Lately Recovered from the Dangerous Errors of Arminius (Boston, 1737) gives an account of how the person (Moody) became interested in Arminianism and how he obtained Arminian books. The account was published by Samuel Moody, but it is clearly a narration of someone else's experience.

¹⁹ Daniel Whitby, Four Discourses (London, 1710), 50.

²⁰ Ibid., 52.

²¹ Ibid., 64.

²² Samuel Moody recognized the implications of Wigglesworth's treatise and tore out the last page of the book in which Wigglesworth had advocated mutual toleration between Calvinists and Arminians. The elder Moody then wrote to Wigglesworth to tell him what he had done. Samuel Moody to Edward Wigglesworth, October 17, 1739, Autograph File, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

²³ Letter from Jonathan Edwards to Joseph Bellamy, January 15, 1747. Jonathan Edwards Manuscripts XXXIX 7C (Letter List # 110), Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

²⁴ Joseph J. Ellis, The New England Mind in Transition: Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, 1696-1772 (New Haven and London, 1973) and Richard Warch, School of the Prophets: Yale College, 1701-1740 (New Haven and London, 1973).

²⁵ For Mather, see Richard F. Lovelace, The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979).

26 Josiah Woodward, An Account of the Rise and Progress
of the Religious Societies in the City of London, &c. . . .
(London, 1698).

CHAPTER IX

MOODY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS TOLERATION:

GLEANINGS FROM MOODY'S BOOKSHELF

After finishing a midday meal consisting of meat pie and milk punch Moody set aside the catechism to which he had devoted the morning and picked up a small book entitled The French Convert.¹ In three or four hours he had read the book from cover to cover and, when he had finished, he sat for a long time staring out the window down the mill stream channel toward the York River. Late that night Moody confessed to his diary that what he had read in the book had added fuel to the fires of doubt smouldering in his soul.

The French Convert had not yet found its place among best sellers in New England bookshops, but it was destined to become one of the most popular books of the colonial and early national period in America. The copy which Moody had in hand was published in New York in 1724. An eighth edition was published in 1725, a ninth in 1744, and by 1761 thirteen editions had been published. In six years between 1793 and 1799 an additional fourteen editions or reprints were published.

The book was, from the point of view of the modern reader, a work of fiction under the guise of personal history. It was, in fact, a sort of eighteenth-century "dime novel" with a religious theme. Moody had no criterion for determin-

ing the type of literature he was reading, and no way of determining its historical accuracy except for his intuitive sense of what was right and true. Given the vehement anti-Catholic bias of his father and the intolerant attitude of New Englanders toward Roman Catholicism, Moody might be expected to have endorsed the author's point of view and reveled in the attack upon the ultimate enemy of the Puritan faith. Moody's reaction, however, was quite different from the expected, and his subsequent reflections on the book had far-reaching implications for the development of his religious perspective. Moody was profoundly disturbed by what he read because it aroused long suppressed doubts about the Calvinist doctrines in which he had been nurtured. That night he confessed to himself, "I read through The French Convert which I believe to be hardly sincere or even true. In the evening I was in some measure troubled by my uncertainty as to what extent our doctrines are true."²

Moody's skepticism regarding the sincerity and truth of the "true relation" of a happy conversion of a noble French lady from the errors and superstitions of popery must be seen in the light of the state of the literary art of fiction in his time and his own limited knowledge of it. The closest Moody came to reading a piece of pure fiction during the fifty-two months of the diary was his reading of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress,³ and that work was clearly a religious allegory rather than a personal history. Although William Congreve's Incognita (1692) has been called the earliest

novel in English, the novel had not yet emerged on the English scene as an identifiable genre of literature. There were notable works of fiction, to be sure. Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, an adventure novel, was published in 1719. His Colonel Jack and Moll Flanders were published in 1722, and Roxana in 1724. There is no indication that Moody knew of these works, and it is unlikely that he would have read them even if they had been available to him. The work closest to The French Convert in terms of its purported moral interest was Samuel Richardson's Pamela or Virtue Rewarded, the story of a young woman defending her chastity by piety and common sense. But that work, a true novel, was not written until 1740.

How Moody acquired The French Convert or why he chose to read it is not known. What is known is that he frequently obtained publishers' catalogues from which he learned what was available among imported books. Books and pamphlets were sold by hawkers in York and to the eastward, and there were outlets for books in local stores throughout the area. Moody also frequented bookshops in Boston, and sometimes he borrowed books from relatives and friends, a widespread practice in early New England. Moody may have expected The French Convert to give a detailed account of a conversion experience, a subject in which he was intensely interested. He was, however, disappointed, if that was his expectation. A summary of the book reveals what Moody found distasteful in it and why he regarded it with Skepticism.

The letter of introduction to The French Convert claims that the narrative was sent to a French refugee in London by a French Protestant minister being held prisoner in France. It is dated June 12, 1696. The author claims that he is giving an account of "injured innocence" and a true relation of oppressed virtue "dress'd in the Robes of Veracity" and "free from Romantick Fictions."⁴

The French Convert is the story of a young officer named Alanson who married a beautiful "young lady of quality" named Deidamia. Shortly after their marriage, he is recalled to military duty leaving his young, innocent bride in the care of his trusted chaplain. The chaplain and another priest try to seduce her, but to no avail. Finally, after many futile attempts, which the author describes vividly, they connive to recover her from the Huguenot heresy into which she has fallen due to the benign spiritual influence of the gardener, who turns out to be a Huguenot minister in hiding. The two clerical villains banish him and send Deidamia to a nunnery. On the way she escapes from two ravenous cutthroats who are escorting her and finds refuge with a devout Huguenot family in the deep woods. Finally, Alanson returns from the wars, finds her, and, after a joyful reunion, they return home, only to be tried for heresy and excommunicated. Eventually they find their way to a Protestant country where they may enjoy more liberty. The priest is eventually hanged for ravishing his landlord's daughter. The chaplain, after confessing that Lord Alanson and his lady "had taken a way to be Saved, but he was sure to be Damned,"

dashes out his brains against a wall.

The French Convert, despite its literary form, is a polemic against the Roman Catholic Church. The intolerance expressed in the work was attitudinal rather than based on political, legal, or theological considerations. Moody did not share the attitudinal bias of the author, even though he probably would have endorsed political, legal, and theological opinions toward the Roman Catholic Church that may be termed intolerant. He also did not share the attitudinal bias against the Catholic Church and its doctrine and clergy that made the work one of the all-time best sellers in the English speaking world, with over fifty editions and reprintings in the century and a half of its literary life. The reason why an individual such as Moody, with a dogmatic and dominant father well-known for his anti-Catholic bias, resisted the biases and prejudices of his time and place may hold the clue to hidden factors in the movement of early New England society toward a more liberal perspective on matters of religion.

Religious toleration was by no means indigenous to New England, nor, for that matter, to old England. Persecution of Protestantism under Mary (1553-1558) contributed greatly to the suppression of Roman Catholicism under Elizabeth (1558-1603). The Act of Uniformity (1559) established a church that was Protestant in theology but Catholic in form. Official persecution systematically eliminated dissenters of the left (Robert Barrow) and right (Edmund Campion). James I (1603-

1625) and his Stuart successors imposed severe restrictions on Puritan dissenters. During the Interregnum the Independents advocated a general toleration of all religions but in practice the mutual intolerance of the numerous sects, espousing a wide variety of political and economic revolutionary ideas as well as theologies, destroyed the hopes for national unity. Only the Levellers were willing to allow liberty for Roman Catholics. By 1657, however, a third of the members of Parliament supported toleration for Catholics.⁵ The need for some degree of tolerance for Catholics was recognized by the time of the Restoration, but English Roman Catholics were more than a hundred years away from being granted full rights as citizens.

In New England limited tolerance came only with the advent of Anglicization of colonial society in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-centuries. The Pilgrims of Plymouth tolerated Quakers and other sectaries, and in 1643 there was a proposal to tolerate Roman Catholics. Governor Winthrop of the Bay Colony disclaimed at one point any inclination to coerce men's consciences. But these expressions of tolerance were exceptions to the general mood and in practice orthodoxy was defended by repressing dissent.

After the Restoration, England's Clarendon Code (1661) imposed religious strictures on all nonconformists. After eleven years of futile attempts to lessen the restrictive burden placed on Roman Catholics, Charles II (1660-1685) issued a Declaration of Indulgences which allowed public wor-

ship to Protestant dissenters under license and private worship to Roman Catholics. The House of Commons repudiated the Declaration the following year and reinforced the Test Act that imposed severe civil disabilities on Roman Catholics and nonconformists. James II (1685-1688) sought openly to promote Roman Catholicism, as his father had done secretly. His Declaration of Indulgences (1687) brought toleration "within the field of practical politics."⁶ It was an offer that tempted Dissenters to accept on the King's terms what had been withheld from them by the Anglican establishment. By implication, however, the term "indulgence" denied that religious freedom was a natural right. In attempting to counter what they regarded as a rather insidious ploy by the King, Anglican leaders, both lay and clergy, made overtures of good will toward Protestant Dissenters. James II was soon removed from the scene, to be replaced by William (1689-1702) and Mary. Under the Toleration Act of 1689, the old Corporation and Test Acts stood, but Dissenters who took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, who subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, excluding four articles relating to church discipline, and who signed a declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation, were exempt from the penalties of the old laws. Toleration was, in effect, granted to all but Roman Catholics, Unitarians, Deists, atheists, and anti-trinitarians. It was, however, a circumscribed toleration. The Church of England was clearly favored as the established church. The validity of ordination of dissenting ministers

was questioned, and preaching and sacramental rites were subjected to official scrutiny.

With the succession of the high church Queen Anne (1702-1714), the lot of the Dissenter worsened. The Schism Act of 1714 was directed against the proliferation of dissenting schoolmasters and the dissenting educational system, but with the death of the Queen it was not implemented. Not until 1718, according to Barlow,⁷ was toleration firmly established by statute, but only for Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists. Finally, in 1722, Quakers were granted the right to protect their property before the law. Roman Catholic priests, however, were subjected to official harrassment as late as the 1760s, and no Catholic could inherit property unless he signed the declaration against transubstantiation.

Moody thus inherited a long tradition of intolerance. He was, moreover, taught the finer points of intolerance by his father at first hand. Nevertheless, Moody entertained at various times the tenets of Arminianism, sympathy toward the Rogerenes, cordiality toward Quakers, concern for Indians and for criminal offenders, and apparently for others outside the pale of Puritanism. Moody's self-doubt expressed in the diary reveals an openness to the ideas of others that was uncommon among New England Puritans. Moody's questioning the sincerity and truth of a polemic against Roman Catholicism is nevertheless surprising in spite of his personal openness, so we must look beyond the external history of the growth of toleration to account for it.

There are three possible sources of Moody's attitude toward toleration of Roman Catholicism and Roman Catholics as expressed in his negative reaction to The French Convert. During the diary years Moody read three authors who addressed the subject of religious tolerance in one or more of their works. These authors were John Foxe (1516-1587), John Owen (1616-1683), and Richard Baxter (1615-1691). There is, of course, no way to determine precisely what Moody did, or did not, read beyond what he himself noted in the diary, or how what he read influenced his thinking, except what he tells us through the diary. But these writers, although opposed to Roman Catholicism as a religious system and a quasi-political ideology, were far more sympathetic to the idea of toleration for the individual Catholic than the religious and political consensus of their time. Given Moody's expressed attitude of tolerance, we may hazard a conjecture that Moody's reading of their works, at least in part, and his awareness of their position on toleration could well have contributed to the molding of his own attitude on toleration.

Let us turn our attention to Moody again and review what he heard and read. On Saturday evening, January 20, 1722, he sat listening intently as a guest read from the writings of John Owen.⁸ Owen had been the pupil of Thomas Barlow at Oxford, and had later as an Independent become an ardent advocate of toleration for the numerous sects that emerged in the English Civil War. Like John Milton (1608-1674), Owen insisted that Church and State exist in entirely different and separate

spheres and that the unity and peace of the nation must not be achieved at the price of uniformity in religion. Englishmen are born into the nation and are entitled by virtue of birth to its protection, he argued. Religion is, however, a matter of personal choice. When men are peaceful in their religion, their religion is no concern of government. Like Barlow, who later became Bishop of Lincoln, Owen argued that toleration was based on political, legal, and "psychological" considerations, rather than primarily on scripture, as Milton had argued.⁹ Owen anticipated John Locke (1634-1704) in arguing that the state had no concern for the establishment or defense of religious truth and that the state should take no notice of religion unless, as with Roman Catholicism, it seemed to threaten the peace of the state. By psychological grounds for toleration, Owen meant that no man can believe the truth until it is revealed to his understanding. The magistrate, therefore, may not compel compliance to any particular religious opinion.¹⁰ Owen's position was still well within the theological framework of Calvinism. By implication, if God had not elected a man to see the truth, he ought not to be coerced into professing it.

We do not know, of course, how much Moody heard or understood of Owen's theory of toleration, but we know that he was moved by what he heard.¹¹ Moody was profoundly concerned with the destiny of his own soul, and he also often expressed concern for others and questions about where others stood in relation to God. For them, as for himself, everything rested

in the hands of an inexorable, predestinating God, and nothing a man might do could alter the fulfillment of the divine decree. Owen also believed in predestination, and yet he advocated a fair degree of toleration of other men's beliefs. Owen's toleration was based, not on any uncertainty about what he himself believed, but upon the certainty of God's decree, of His choices among men, and of His governance of human affairs. Why then should men be intolerant of other men whose destinies were not in their own hands but in the hidden counsel of God? So Moody may also have reasoned. He, like other men, could only receive and believe what was implanted by divine grace, and unregenerate men like himself--he learned from Owen--had only one light to guide them, the light of a free and unhindered conscience. Why should not a man who, a week before, had engaged in "a friendly chat with Quakers" perceive the logic of Owen's theory of toleration: that a man's creed is not to be disparaged if it does not threaten the life or limb of another.¹²

Owen was the Dean of Christ Church at Oxford while Locke was an undergraduate there.¹³ Owen and Locke agreed that Roman Catholics were a potential threat to the state, and although both men allowed Catholics liberty of conscience, they did not advocate granting them political and legal toleration. The withholding of toleration was not a judgment on the merits of religion, but a means of political control. "So it was that by the seventeen-thirties, the cumulative heritage of Milton, Barlow, Owen, Proast, Stebbing--and especially Locke--had effected on all sides a belief in the freedom of conscience

in matters of religion."¹⁴ Locke, of course, based his argument for toleration on natural right rather than on Christian truth, and ultimately freedom of conscience must, for him, be subjected to the legal and political needs of the state.

We must not claim too much for Moody, or for Owen or Locke, for that matter. It is not too much to claim, however, that the sensibilities of perceptive people are almost always in advance of political and legal considerations where religion, faith, and human values are concerned. Moody's introduction to Owen's thought helped prepare his response to The French Convert which he read some fifteen months later.

Owen was prominent during the Interregnum as the most distinguished of the major Independent political theorists. His primary aim was to establish a viable State Church which would restrain sectarianism and make possible national unity.¹⁵ The period was marked by great debate on the limits of toleration, the outcome of which was the general acceptance among Englishmen of the inviolability of conscience in matters of religion. Although Owen was capable of an eloquent declaration of the necessity for mutual religious toleration, he understood toleration in terms of "a prudently orthodox religious settlement of a National Church"¹⁶ with religious liberty restricted to Calvinist communions. He opposed, however, the enforcing of conformity by either a repressive ecclesiastical authority or by the state. He was thus strongly opposed to any form of religious persecution, asserting that charity

forbids and reason prohibits the punishment of men for mere difference of opinion. By a policy of persecution, Protestantism was in danger of returning to the most grievous error of Roman Catholicism, the claim to infallibility in matters of faith.¹⁷ Heretical sects, including Roman Catholicism, should be given liberty of worship, but their political conformity to the needs of the state should be vigorously enforced.

Moody's introduction to the thought and writings of Owen may have been through the Complete Collection of the Sermons of J. Owen published in London in 1721.¹⁸ Owen believed that the works of the Holy Spirit included preparation of the soul for salvation. He declared that "ordinarily there are certain previous and preparatory works . . . antecedent and dispositive" to regeneration. These preparatory works were not, however, part of the regenerating process. Nevertheless, Owen insisted, there are some things required of a man in a way of duty in preparation for regeneration "which are so in the power of our own natural abilities" that only man's corrupt prejudices and sinful stubbornness keep him from them.¹⁹ Owen detailed a series of stages in preparation that were similar to those of Shepard and other preparationists. He held that preparatory use of the means of grace was necessary but not salvific. Certain internal effects, such as illumination, conviction, and reformation, were "antecedaneous unto real conversion to God," but not to be confused with saving faith.²⁰ Moody's exposure to Owen's thought at this point, on a matter in which he was intensely interested, may well have led him more deeply

into other aspects of Owen's thought. We need not expect that Moody read everything available of Owen's writings or that he mentioned everything he read in his diary. We need not require that Moody espoused Owen's circumscribed theory of toleration, either. We merely suggest that Moody's attitude toward toleration and Roman Catholicism was influenced by expressions of tolerance which he may have read in Owen.²¹

Moody, as we have noted in Chapter VII, began reading an account of Baxter's life in December 1722, some eleven months after he had been introduced to Owen's writings. Baxter's views of toleration were considerably in advance of Owen's. Baxter had served on the parliamentary committee, headed by Owen, which had been given the task of defining the boundaries of toleration in the debates of 1654-1655. The differences between Baxter's more liberal view and Owen's position soon became apparent. Cromwell, whose attempts to devise an even more liberal governmental policy on religious toleration were continually being frustrated by Parliament, felt it necessary to lecture Baxter on toleration on one occasion.²² During the critically formative period of English theories of religious toleration, the situation was very confused indeed. It was not the emergence of a viable theory of toleration but rather a shift in popular attitude toward toleration that eventually made the difference.

Baxter held that the dispute over the form of church government between the Erastians, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent parties could have been resolved if each had ac-

knowledged what they held in common and if they had been willing to minimize their differences. He believed that all that was necessary for concord among Christians was a common assent to the baptismal covenant, affirmation of a belief in the trinity, and a renouncing of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Words were not essential to religion, only the sense and meaning of faith. Thus one might not understand the creed, and yet be saved by a simple faith in God, according to Baxter. He that expresses his faith in a verbal form that may be unacceptable to Puritan orthodoxy, Baxter declared, may still profess a saving faith.²³ Baxter's Christian Concord was criticized by Owen and others because it reduced the essentials of faith to what some of "the brethren" believed Papists and Socinians could easily subscribe to. So much the better, Baxter replied. He argued that a new rule of faith to which Papists and Socinians could not subscribe ought not to be devised. Rather, he favored a rule to which they could subscribe, and then holding them to their commitment by government regulation. Owen, on the other hand, argued that because salvation was based on scripture alone and not on sacramental tradition, a new rule of faith ought to require exclusive allegiance to scripture, thus excluding Catholics. Baxter countered that "if among Papists or any other a poor Christian should believe by the teaching of another, without ever knowing that there is a Scripture, he should be saved, because it is promised that whoever believed should be saved."²⁴ Against this rather surprising concession Owen argued that scripture was the only way

that the saving revelation of Christ could be presented, to which Baxter replied that Christ was savingly revealed by the preaching of the Apostles many years before the New Testament was written. Implicit in this argument, of course, is the admission of an oral tradition apart from the written, which, indeed, is historically the basis for Catholic theological development.

Although Baxter had once written against the Roman Catholic Church, he admitted in his autobiography that his views had changed considerably in later years. At first he had regarded their most "dangerous mistakes" as their doctrines of merit, justification by works, assurance of salvation, and the nature of faith. In words which Moody read in Baxter's autobiography, Baxter admitted: "But now I am assured that their misexpressions and misunderstanding us, with our mistakings of them and inconvenient expressing our own opinions [italics added], hath made the difference in these points to appear much greater than they are, and that in some of them it is next to none at all."²⁵ Baxter acknowledged that the threat of Roman Catholicism was, for him, its hierarchical discipline, and what he regarded as the Roman corruption of worship. He faulted them for their encouragement of ignorance and vice, a charge that has long been a standard indictment of one's political or theological adversaries. He nevertheless refused to indict all Roman Catholics for the alleged errors of their church. At one time he had agreed with William Perkins that all "Papists" were reprobates, he wrote, "but now

I doubt not but that God hath many sanctified ones among them, who have received the true doctrine of Christianity so practically that their contradictory errors prevail not against them to hinder their love of God and their salvation."²⁶ "And I can never believe," he declared, "that a man may not be saved by that religion which doth but bring him to the true love of God and to a heavenly mind and life, nor that God will ever cast a soul into hell that truly loveth him." He had long since learned to be more impartial, he acknowledged, and not to judge the truth or falsehood of doctrines by the failings of those who espouse them.

The third source of Moody's tolerant attitude toward Roman Catholicism provides a literary linkage between the second generation of English Protestant reformers and the period of religious transition in Moody's eighteenth-century New England. On November 5, 1722, Moody "did some reading in a book about Martyrs." One thinks immediately of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments (London, 1563), popularly known as The Book of Martyrs. Moody undoubtedly knew the work. But in this case why was he not more specific as to author and title if he was reading Foxe? Why, in other words, refer to "a book about Martyrs" if he was reading "The Book." A perusal of the subject shows that Foxe had his imitators and that one of these was probably the book Moody read. The most likely seems to be Ellis, or Elias, Hookes's The Spirit of the Martyrs Revived: in a brief . . . collection of the most remarkable passages and

living testimonies of the true Church . . . in all ages (London, 1719). The work follows the plan of Foxe's Book of Martyrs and includes at the end "a Christian plea against persecution for the cause of conscience." Yet John Foxe too was an advocate of toleration. Foxe was the most versatile of the second generation reformers in England. He was an historian, martyrologist, apocalypticist, and biblical exegete. Perhaps more than any other he persuaded Englishmen to think in biblical terms about themselves and their nation. Thus the minds, if not the hearts, of Englishmen were prepared to accept a view of English history informed by an allegorical exegesis of the Apocalypse.²⁷ According to William Haller, Foxe laid the foundation for the belief among the English that they were God's chosen people, a new Israel.²⁸ V. Norskov Olsen qualifies Haller's view by stating that Foxe was simply playing a significant role in the English national independence movement that was similar to the role of the magisterial reformers on the Continent.²⁹ Foxe never repudiated the ideal of a universal church, even though he, along with his colleague in exile, John Bale (The Image of Both Churches), helped lay the foundation for an English national church that was thoroughly Protestant in theology if not in form. Foxe's theology of history was decidedly anti-Catholic, but Foxe was first of a Christian humanist, an admirer of Erasmus, a promoter of concord, and an opponent of capital punishment for religious reasons, and it was these elements of his thought that nurtured the seed of tolerance in an extremely intolerant age.³⁰

Foxe's concept of tolerance, according to Olsen, was based on the gospel, which he interpreted to mean that the mark of the true church was tolerance and the mark of the apostate church was persecution of its adversaries. The distinction between the views of the Reformers, particularly Calvin and Beza, and Foxe was the latter's setting the tenets of the gospel above the moral and judicial injunctions of the Law.

The concept of religious toleration, according to Olsen, was revived during the sixteenth-century by the Protestant Reformers who at first advocated freedom of conscience based on the authority of the Bible, but later they forsook religious toleration for an alliance with the state.³¹ John Foxe was the singular exception in the second generation of Reformers to advocate religious toleration. He pled for the lives of some Anabaptists in 1575. He interceded for Joan of Kent, an Anabaptist, and for George the German, an Arian. Olsen thinks that he also openly condemned the burning of Michael Servetus.³² Foxe's commitment to religious toleration is best demonstrated, according to Olsen, by his plea for the Jesuit Edmund Campion at a time when it was well known that the Papacy was plotting against Queen Elizabeth.³³

The question is, from our point of view, how much Moody knew of Foxe's views on toleration and the degree to which he was influenced by them. Foxe's Book of Martyrs, in one form or another, was widely read among Puritans of old and New England, but few Puritans appear to have become advocates of

toleration of Roman Catholics as a result. On the other hand, it seems valid to suggest that the writings of Foxe were important in the rise of toleration where it did appear, first in the attitudes and sympathies of men who, as Olsen claims for Foxe, were deeply touched at a personal level by the admonitions of the gospel to do good to one's enemies and to be kindly disposed even toward those who may offend one. Moody, undoubtedly, read Foxe, and, as we have seen, on one occasion at least he manifested an unusually tolerant attitude that may well have reflected in part the influence of John Foxe.³⁴

Private attitudes toward toleration in early New England, as elsewhere, precede public toleration by decades. Put conversely, public toleration is the fruit of a long period of the evolution of the idea of toleration in the minds of men rather than a sudden parturition of toleration from the imagined benevolence of man's nature. Man's virtues as well as his vices come mainly from his encounter with ideas and the way he adapts them to his intellectual, material, and spiritual needs. When a man's perspective changes from a point of view previously held by him as an individual or as a member of society, we must look first at the ideas to which he has been exposed in order to ascertain the factors contributing to his change of attitude. Moody was no exception to this, and so we must look at what he read in a search for clues to his private attitude on tolerance. His reading shaped his point of view in regard to his relation to God, as we have

seen. It is not too much to suppose that his reading molded his attitude toward his fellow men, and that it accounts for his reaction to The French Convert and helps explain his exceptional openness to religious tolerance at a time when society and his own immediate environment were characterized by rigid intolerance.

NOTES: CHAPTER IX

¹ A. D'Auborn, The French Convert (New York, 1724) was purportedly written in France in 1696. It went through numerous editions, with some abridgement and modification, through the first half of the nineteenth-century, and during the course of its popularity it had a profound effect in molding the attitudes of American Protestants toward Roman Catholicism.

² Moody diary, March 7., 1724.

³ Ibid., October 31, 1722. Moody probably read Pilgrim's Progress at other times as well, without making special note of the fact. On this occasion he made reference to "the conversion of Hopeful."

⁴ The French Convert, Introduction.

⁵ Henry Kamen, The Rise of Toleration (New York, Toronto, 1967), 173.

⁶ Richard B. Barlow, Citizenship and Conscience, A Study in the Theory and Practice of Religious Toleration in England During the Eighteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1962), 19.

⁷ Ibid., 71.

⁸ The writings were probably the collection of Owen's sermons referred to in note 18 below. Moody was greatly impressed by Owen's writings on this occasion, and no doubt read other works of Owen as they became available to him. I assume, with reference to authors of special interest to Moody, that he knew considerably more about them than his brief notations often indicate.

⁹ Barlow, Citizenship and Conscience, 16, 29.

¹⁰ Ibid., 16.

¹¹ Moody diary, January 20, 1722.

¹² For Owen's view on toleration see his Indulgence and Toleration Considered (London, 1667).

¹³ Raymond Klibansky, ed. and J. W. Gough, transl., Epistola de Tolerantia, A Letter on Toleration, by John Locke (Oxford, 1968), 2.

¹⁴ Barlow, Citizenship and Conscience, 56.

¹⁵ W. K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England, From the Convention of the Long Parliament to the Restoration, 1640-1660, III (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1938), 426. It should be noted that Jordan held that the case for religious toleration had been won by 1660, and that Barlow, who disagrees with him, argues that the struggle for toleration continued through the eighteenth-century. Their positions are implicit in the titles of their respective works.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 429.

¹⁸ Owen's Latin Orations delivered at Oxford University between 1652 and 1657 were printed with the sermon collection. For a modern edition of Owen's six orations see The Oxford Orations of Dr. John Owen, ed. by Peter Toon and transl. by John Glucker (Linkinhorne, Callington, Cornwall, 1971). For general background, see Peter Toon, ed., The Correspondence of John Owen (1616-1683), With an account of his life and work (Cambridge and London, 1970). Owen was a prolific writer as the edition by W. H. Goold of The Works of John Owen (24 vols; Edinburg, 1862) will attest.

¹⁹ John Owen, Works, ed. by Thomas Russell, II (London, 1823-1826), 262, 263, "ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΑ or a Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit."

²⁰ Ibid., 265, 267, 268.

²¹ For a selection of Owen's comments on the futility and danger of religious persecution see James Moffatt, ed., The Golden Book of John Owen (London, 1904). For Owen's attitude toward Roman Catholicism, see his Animadversions on a treatise intituled Fiat Lux: or, A guide to differences between papist and Protestant . . . (London, 1662) ["a reply to J. V. Canes's Fiat Lux"]. Also see Owen's The Church of Rome no safe guide: or Reasons to prove that no rational man, who takes due care of his own eternal salvation, can give himself up unto the conduct of that church in matters of Religion (London, 1679). These works, although closely reasoned attacks upon Catholic theology and practice, are devoid of venom and irrational criticism.

22 Jordan, Religious Toleration, III, 164.

23 Richard Baxter, The Autobiography of Richard Baxter, ed. by N. H. Keeble (Totowa, N.J., 1974), 138.

24 Ibid., 139.

25 Ibid., 118.

26 Ibid.

27 I have developed this point in an unpublished paper, "Exegesis, Imagination, and History: The Apocalypse and the English Reformation," 17: "Each period of English history is [for Foxe] determined by the numerology of the Revelation. The latest one hundred years of English history consume the final five of the eight volumes of Foxe's work."

28 William Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London, 1963).

29 V. Norskov Olsen, John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1973), 36.

30 Ibid., 4, 5, 199, 202.

31 Ibid., 197.

32 Ibid., 204.

33 Ibid., 212.

34 Moody diary, facing page for June 13-19, 1723, in Moody's hand: "Found written in the 1st waste Lea[f] in the Book of Martyrs, viz, Memorand[a]: That Hannah Sewa[ll was] Borne the 10th of May 1649 / Memorand[a]: that Samuel Sew[all] the 28th Day of Mar[ch] 1652 / He was Baptized the 4th of Mar[ch] . . ."

CHAPTER X

THE PREACHING OF HOPE

Our understanding of Moody to this point has been limited to what we have learned of him through his diary (most particularly his reading), the known events of his life, and from an analysis of the transformation of the New England Puritanism in which he had been nurtured. Other than the diary spanning four years of his early manhood we have, to this point, but three of his letters. Is there more? Are there lost letters? Anonymous publications attributable to him? A continuation of the diary? Sermons? We might expect the last for Moody was, for more than twenty-five years of his life, a preacher and his stock in trade in that profession was his sermons. During that time, he prepared and preached hundreds of sermons. He prepared his sermons in manuscript, unlike his father who scorned the written sermon except when he was preparing it for publication. But Joseph Moody published nothing, except in association with his father or under his father's name. What of the manuscripts of his sermons? Are they all lost?

If we were to come across one of Joseph Moody's sermons on what basis would we judge that it was his? A hypothetical sermon by him, we may conjecture, might be something along these lines: It would be a model of orthodox Puritan theology, but it would be tempered by moderation and toleration of dif-

fering opinion. We would not expect his sermon to reveal his own doubts and anxieties in first person terms, for the preachers sense of responsibility for his hearers would preclude his indulging in self-catharsis at their expense. Moody, moreover, was very reticent and reluctant to reveal his inner feelings to others. But based on what we know of Moody and his father, we might expect that a comparison of Moody's sermons with one of his father's would show that, in contrast to his father, Moody made little or no use of the terror to which he himself had been so often subjected, that he appealed more often to the gospel than to the law, and that he held out to his congregation the hope of their salvation on condition of their faithful response to the gospel. He would more often assume, we might expect, that his hearers were already converted or that they were in a hopeful way. He would rarely if ever suggest that any of them were irrevocably lost and he would, we may suppose, never indict individuals for their particular sins, as his father was alleged to have done.

We would expect a sermon reflecting the relatively mild and gentle temperament of the younger Moody, in contrast to the more volatile and vehement sermons of Samuel Moody. There would be in Joseph's sermons no vivid imagery of desolate souls, no lurid descriptions of hell, no emphasis on the uncertainty of salvation--despite what Moody felt about his own--and more attention to the joys of heaven and an almost wistful expression of the hope that those who earnestly desired salvation would eventually receive grace. There would be a consider-

able amount of attention to the preparation of the soul for grace, but an avoidance of the more extreme version of preparation propounded by Shepard, that there must first be an abject humiliation of the soul in which the seeker renounces his hope of salvation and becomes resigned to his probable damnation.

We would expect our hypothetical sermon to give attention to the covenant as a basis of hope, with some reference to the importance of the continuity of faith from generation to generation--recall Moody's attention to these themes in his diary--and we would expect the sermon to dwell upon the importance of the sacraments, particularly the beneficial effects of a proper observance of the Lord's Supper.

Finally, we would not be surprised to find that there were similarities in language between Joseph's sermon and those of Father Moody. After all, the son learned his first lessons in religion from his father. Certain phrases and images, we might expect, would be common to both, but the style of expression of these would be quite different, as would be the purpose for which they were used. We would expect Joseph Moody's sermon to be less colorful, less concise, less homiletical, far less dogmatic, and more digressionary, than the sermons of Samuel Moody, who pursued his theme relentlessly until his congregation cried out, wept, or trembled in fear of damnation.

There is, in the Congregational Library at 14 Beacon

Street, Boston, Massachusetts, a book of twenty-four manuscript sermons attributed to the Rev. Samuel Moody of York. The manuscript book is 290 pages in length, with an incomplete table of contents. Pages one and two and a final page or pages are missing. The sermons, varying in length from four to twenty-four pages, are hand-printed and the table of contents is written in cursive. A comparison of the handwriting of the table of contents with the handwriting of Samuel and Joseph Moody rules out the former but establishes the probability of the latter as the composer of the table of contents.¹ Dittographic errors and chronological displacement of two of the sermons indicate that the manuscript was copied from previously written manuscripts rather than being taken down verbatim by an auditor.

A comparison of the manuscript sermons with the published sermons of Samuel Moody (there are no other manuscript sermons attributed to him besides these) shows that the content and style of these sermons are quite different from those of Samuel Moody, and more like the hypothetical sermon of Joseph Moody described above. Were they really Joseph's?

Consider first the attribution to Samuel. At the top of the title page there appears the name of Joh Codman of Dorchester, Massachusetts. This John Codman, pastor of the Dorchester, Massachusetts, church, was born in 1782 and died in 1847. Where or when he obtained the manuscript is unknown. At the upper left corner of the opposite page are inscribed the numbers "1821" and just below them the numbers "5947."

The first appears, to the present author, to be a date, and the second some sort of accession number added by a later hand. The words on the title page attributing the manuscript to Samuel Moody, "Mss. Sermons by the Rev. Sam¹ Moody of York--1728," are with and in the same hand as Codman's name. But the signature may or may not be Codman's (the only sample of Codman's signature available is a rather poor quality tracing, which nevertheless shows some of the characteristics of the hand that wrote Codman's name on the title page of Moody sermons). In any case, the attribution of the sermons to Samuel Moody appears to have been written by an early hand, with late eighteenth-century characteristics. The Congregational Library was founded in 1853, and it is unlikely that the attribution was made at the time of accession. Someone later had a change of mind, for in another hand are the words "or Joseph," printed below the name of Samuel Moody. And then later someone crossed out the words "or Joseph." What these changes tell us is that whoever had the sermons was not quite sure whose they were.

There is one further bit of external evidence, but it points to Joseph rather than to Samuel Moody and seems conclusive. On the page before the title page appear the words: "Returne this to Capt. Jer. Bragdon." Jeremiah Bragdon--this Jeremian Bragdon, for there were several others--was born in York in 1705.³ He served as a captain in the York Militia in the French and Indian Wars⁴ and was a deacon of the First Parish Church. More important for our purpose, he was Joseph

Moody's attorney in 1748 for the settlement of Samuel Moody's estate and he was appointed by the court to provide an inventory of Joseph Moody's estate after the latter's death in 1753. The inventory inventory bears his signature.⁵ The manuscript of Moody sermons appears to have come into his possession at that time, later loaned and lost by him, ultimately coming into Codman's hands and after his death being given to the Congregational Library. Had the sermon book belonged to Samuel Moody, it would likely have perished in the fire that destroyed the elder Moody's parsonage and the church records in 1742.

The first sermon in Moody's sermon book is based on Genesis 3,9, "And the Lord called unto Adam & said unto him Where art thou?" The sermon, however, has little relation to the text. God is the great observer, said Moody, who knows everything without being informed by anyone. Man is responsible for his own ways and is held accountable for his every deed and thought by God. Those who are careless and continue in "an unconverted state" are in great danger of being lost forever. Moody, however, painted no vivid pictures of hell. The logic of the sermon is a gentle one that seeks to persuade the sinner that it is in his own best interest to be saved. Sinners "brought to deep and thorough Consideration" [he did not say "conviction"] will not rest until they return to God. When the soul sees its misery and hazardous condition, said Moody, "it must needs seek after Deliverance. Self love will constrain it to do so."⁶ Citing the example of a father who

encouraged his son to set aside a quarter of an hour each day by which pious exercise he was converted, Moody declared, "I am persuaded the like Practice would have the like happy Effect as to many in this Assembly."⁷ Moody's message, then, was one of hope. He refrained from preaching terror, and whenever he alluded to hell or to the dangers of indifference and unbelief, he shifted quickly to the more certain hope of salvation.

Here we see the Bottom Ground of Hope concerning the Conversion of Souls our own or others. God may engage in the Work, yea he has engaged in it already. He can convert Sinners as black as Hell & make them whiter than the Snow. Tho' all Means fail & Persons are ready to be discouraged about themselves, their Children, their Neighbors, No, be not discouraged; Your Time is always ready, it may be God's Time is not yet: When that is come he will take effectual Care to overcome all Opposition. This should excite our fervent, constant, incessant, undeniable Prayers.⁸

He was careful to point out, however, that although utmost endeavors and proper use of means were necessary, one ought not to depend on them, for God alone saves by his grace alone. He concluded the sermon with a word of hope to his congregation: "Tis not said that so much as one shall strive to enter in & not be able. If there were to be but one more Soul to be converted I don't see why it might not be you--"⁹

The theme of Moody's second sermon was the power of Christ to give eternal life to those whom God had predestined to salvation. The sermon introduction was a model of homiletical precision. He put the text, John 17.2, in the context of Jesus' final days with his disciples, after his farewell sermon and before his final suffering. It was, said Moody, "the

most remarkable Hour that ever was since the Clock of Time was first set a going." He compared it--the prayer of Jesus for his disciples--with Jacob blessing his twelve sons, with the prayer of Nehemiah before the king, with "the Prayer of Isaac when he walked into the Field at the even Tide & that of Nathanael when Jesus saw him under the Figg Tree." This prayer of Jesus, Moody suggested, should be a model for Christian prayer in the family.

Moody's primary interest was, however soteriological--how Christ saves sinners. Christ saves those, and only those, whom the Father has committed to him. That number is limited, and none of the elect can be lost. Although only a relatively small number would be saved, he said, "we know nothing to the Contrary but that there will be as many saved in all as there are Persons now living on the Earth."¹⁰ Men of understanding, he said, will not receive the doctrine of election and free justification. The simple are more likely to believe than the wise, and "men are saved by Believing." Whether wise or simple, rich or poor, all men who are saved should be "filled with Admiration" that God has done anything at all for them.

But Moody's optimistic exegesis drew him into a defense against the implied universalism of Arminianism. Citing the objection based on I Timothy 2.4 that God will have all men to be saved, he insisted that the Bible nevertheless sets forth a doctrine of particular election. He was, however, willing to debate the point--which his father was never will-

ing to do: "And yet in this Book it is asserted in express Words that God will have all Men to be saved; Thus plausibly argues the Arminian."¹¹ Moody conceded, ominously, that the Arminian position was based on a literal interpretation of the Bible. "This can't be taken in a strict literal Sense for then all Men would be certainly saved for who hath resisted his Will: But God speaks to us in our own Language"--and that language, according to Moody, was the language of Calvinism. "He would have all Men to be saved that is He has made it Men's Duty to pray for the Salvation of all Men & to do what in them lies to promote the salvation of all Men." But this does not mean that God wills the salvation of all men absolutely. We must consider, he said, "the general Drift & Design of a Text & not the particular Words by themselves." The Apostle's purpose, in I Timothy 2.4 was not to show the exact number of men to be saved but rather to exhort men to their duty.¹² God would have all men to be saved in the sense that God requires all men to labor after salvation, "tho' Faith be beyond their Power." The Arminian argument that the doctrine of limited atonement is "an Enemy of Godliness" is false because, he said, it is not true that men will be saved in spite of their sins and lost despite their best efforts. "God," he declared, "has not appointed any Man to Damnation that does all he can towards his Salvation."¹³ Whitby himself could not have said it better. But Moody was still a Calvinist --or thought he was. He believed that God alone appoints men to salvation, and as long as they strive, that was a hopeful

sign that God had elected them to salvation. When men cease to strive, that is an almost certain sign that God has passed them by.

The doctrines of limited atonement and of particular election are a source of great comfort to the humbled soul, if the humbled soul reasons thus: "'Tis possible I may be one of that Number & then I shall be brought in but if I be left to my own free Will I shall certainly perish." God commands me to wait in the way of duty, Moody went on, and though I am dead in trespasses and sins I may, if I continue to pursue religious duties and to believe in particular election, still be saved. One senses that Moody was speaking for himself when he held out hope for the as yet unconverted soul.

The first dated sermon in the Moody manuscript was delivered at a "Preparation Meeting" and based on Haggai 2.23, (July 12, 1728). God never manifests his special love to any before their conversion, said Moody, and yet in the next sentence he declared, "God loves them before & so takes Care of them, preserves them & provides for them & all from Special Love . . . all God's Dealings with his Elect even before their Conversion are on a Design of Love."¹⁴ What Moody meant, apparently, was that God loves elect sinners even though they may not see it that way until after their conversion. Those who are converted are to be sealed with the Spirit, but, he observed, it is not said how long after conversion this will happen. Some are sealed at one time, some at another, and "some not till the Day of their Death." Sometimes God defers the mani-

festation of his love in order to make the converted soul more humble and fruitful so that they may give Him greater glory when He does reveal Himself to them. "There's not a Sabbath, nor a Sacrament, not an Hour nor a Quarter of an Hour but the humble waiting Christian may expect it." Addressing directly those who had come to receive communion that day, Moody asked, "Are not some come hither with some Desires after this. What brot you hither? Did you not come with some Expectations that God would make known his Love to you?" If you have such desires, he said, "'tis a Token for Good." No warnings, no threatenings, but hope, characterized Moody's message to his congregation. "Then let such as have never yet had the Sealing of the Spirit be humbly waiting & expecting." In words surpassing eloquence he invited all his auditors to the sacred table:

"We have blessed Priviledges secured to us that we may go on the more chearfully in the Service of God. The Martyrs said we have a sorrowful Supper here, but we shall have a joyful Breakfast with our Lord Jesus. . . . If we have a joyful Breakfast of Divine Consolations we must be the more ready for the Services of the Day & the bitter Supper of Afflictions. Let us be sure to keep a good conscience. Careful Attendance on Duty yields Comfort."

Moody was at his best in preparing his congregation to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Perhaps the finest example of his sacramental piety and powers of persuasion are to be seen in a sermon on I Peter 2.7 ("Unto you therefore that believe he is precious") preached on September 8, 1728. He dwelt at length on the glories and beauty of Christ for the believer. Notably absent is any reference to hell or judgment upon sinners. There is sin in the world, and lure of earthly

enjoyments, but over against these are set, not the terrors of hell, but the glories of heaven in the presence of Christ. Jew and Gentiles will rejoice together in one another's conversion. Martyrs will extol Christ, and the redeemed will rejoice forever more. Christ is all--Father, Friend, Brother, Physician, Advocate, Food for the hungry, Water for the thirsty, "Honey for Sweetness, Balm for Healing, A Door to enter into Heaven by, & a Rock to build upon."

All this was by way of preparation for the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Here we have, said Moody, sundry things represented to us that make Christ more precious to us: "Here we see the Suffering of Christ: His Body broken & his blood poured out." We see the extremity of His sufferings, the bloody sweat falling on the ground in His agony in the Garden, the weight of God's wrath upon Him, by which He procured the remission of our sins and satisfied divine justice. "Let this draw even those that are strangers to embrace the Lord Jesus Christ," he declared. Here, in Christ's death upon the Cross, we have all the benefits of the New Covenant conveyed and sealed and secured to us. Moody also associated the Sacrament with the Second Coming of Christ. "As sure as you see & receive the Elements of Bread & Wine so surely will you see the Lord Jesus come again in the clouds of Heaven & embrace him--As our Bodies are now united to the Bread & Wine so our Souls and Bodies shall be everlastingly & inseparably united to Christ."¹⁵ Such a high view of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was exceptional in Puritan literature. Conversion ex-

perience was important in Moody's perception of how the soul came to grace, but the experience appears to have been more closely associated with the right reception of the sacrament than it was to the elect sinner's response to preaching.

On September 15, 1728, Moody preached on the text of Acts 13.26, "To you is the Word of this Salvation sent." From this text he derived the "doctrine" that "the Salvation of the Gospel is first to be explained & then to be offered." This approach differed greatly from the method of Shepard and other preparationists, who advocated that the terror of the law must first be preached and that the comfort of the Gospel ought to be preached only after men had come to grace. The reason Moody offered for explaining the Gospel before offering it was "that God may deal with Man as a reasonable Creature." Furthermore, "the Gospel Salvation can't be received till 'tis understood." The commission Christ gave to his ministers was first of all to teach all nations. The Gospel was to be explained in terms of the Covenant of Redemption; it was to be offered on the conditions of faith, repentance, and obedience. And it was to be offered freely, he said, because it had been already purchased for us by Christ. Salvation must be offered authoritatively, universally, insistently, at once and frequently. Moody's grounds for offering the Gospel indiscriminately to all men was that "poor solicitous Souls," "if they look over the whole Bible they can't find they are excepted."¹⁶ The only ones excluded from the offer of the Gospel are those who have "done Despite to the Spirit of Grace" or who have

become "fixed in their Malice against him." The call of the Gospel, he said, "do necessarily include you as much as if your Name were inserted" in it. Christ knocks at the sinner's door by His Word, by special providences, and by the motions of His Spirit. "Conscience speaks while God speaks--The Door is the Understanding, Will & other Faculties of the Soul. There is the outer Door of the Senses & the inner Door of the Mind."¹⁷ Christ "has a golden Key to unlock the Door of the Heart & it is oiled with Grace." If you are but willing, Moody declared, that He should come in, He will. "Yea, if you are but willing to be made willing. Is not this the best News that ever you heard?" But this is by no means a way of saving one's self. "You must come perishing, sinking, dying, damning." Papists and Arminians, he said, tell us what we must do, that we are indeed in a dreadful pit and that God has let down a ladder so that we may climb out of the pit. But we are dead, said Moody, until God gives us life to take the first step on the ladder. The very act of believing is the gift of God.

In this sermon more clearly than in most Moody described the process by which the soul comes to grace. Man's reason seems to have a prominent place in his decision and the Gospel is perceived by Moody to be logically clear. The soul has but a tenuous hold upon the promises, however, and if it falters in its watchfulness and spiritual discipline all may be lost.

Salvation for Moody rested on God's secret, eternal decree. "This Decree is a Secret in God's own Breast unknown to any man." God tests all men, the elect and the reprobate

alike, to prove whether they will obey His commands when they are still uncertain what the event will be, said Moody. God commands all men to strive and while they strive "he is with them by his Spirit while they are in the Use of Means." He never leaves them till they resist His Spirit.¹⁸ Moody shared many of the paradoxical views of his fellow Puritan. If the historian or theologian looks too hard for inconsistencies in Puritan discourse he will find an Arminian lurking behind every ambiguous phrase. Perhaps it is better simply to recognize that Moody and other Puritans were trying to address their hearers in terms of the two dimensions of their common experience--time and eternity. Shifting back and forth between these two dimensions in homiletical discourse often caught them in logical paradoxes to which they seem to have been oblivious.

Moody's predestinarian theology was linked with the idea of the necessity of preparatory work, despite his youthful aversion to Shepard's theology. There must be, he said, a preparatory work of the law before the soul can receive the Gospel. The law is a severe schoolmaster which brings sinners reluctantly to Christ. God brings souls to the brink of hell and "flashes Hell-Fire in their Faces." He convinces them of sin and misery "as we have been taught by an whole Assembly of Divines." Men must be made to be consciously aware that they are sick before they will send for the physician. He recognized that there were differing degrees of conviction among individuals, however. Some are greatly distressed and

terrified, but such an experience was not always necessary. Some, like Lydia in contrast to the jailer at Philippi [Acts 16.11-34], simply open their hearts to God and believe. "We read not of any such great Terrors that she was in. If the Soul can but say with the Man whose Eyes Jesus opened, whereas I was blind now I see 'tis sufficient."¹⁹ Moody had not forgotten what he had read in Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins or what his father had proclaimed concerning preparation of the soul for grace, but he gave a different construction to preparation than either Shepard or Samuel Moody.

He recognized that there was "a legal mourning" that preceded evangelical repentance and true conversion, but it was "a Sense of pardoning Mercy" that brought the soul to grace. "Conversion does consist in nothing so much as Love," he declared. "God is enjoyed by Love. Seeing his Beauty & Glory draws out the Heart & Affections in true Love. The Soul is captivated hereby. This is the Beginning of Heaven upon Earth, for what is Heaven but a mutual Exchange of Love between the Infinite God & the Church of God above?"²⁰ The work of preparation before conversion, he said, brought the proud sinner to lie exceeding low. "He putteth his Mouth in the Dust if so there may be Hope."²¹ Hope was the key word here for Moody. By preparation a dark mind is enlightened, a self-righteous soul is brought to deny self and to depend on Christ's righteousness alone, a stoney heart is made a heart of flesh, a dead soul is made alive, and a universal change is effected in the life of the newborn soul.²² There were, in Moody's homi-

letical rhetoric, the familiar cautions against misusing the means of grace and the constant need to depend on God. But the tone of Moody's sermons is positive, and the word of hope recurs frequently. In marked contrast to his father's sermons, the use of terror, or even allusion to it, is virtually absent.

Moody's message was a message of hope. Grace, not the law, was his central theme. Whatever fears troubled him in 1728 and 1729 he kept to himself. His sermons are uneven in quality, often rambling concatenations of scripture upon scripture. But sometimes well-turned phrases reveal the mind of the preacher with vivid clarity. We look in vain, however, for hints of the burden of anxiety that troubled him four years before or of the mid-life crisis that lay before him.

NOTES: CHAPTER X

¹ See Appendix III for a comparison of handwriting in documents known to be written by Moody with documents probably written by him. Moody's handwriting shows a wide variety of style, even within the same document.

² The Rev. John Codman of Dorchester was a friend and associate of the Rev. William Allen (see chapter I, note 18). Allen's acquisition of the Moody diary and Codman's possession of the Moody sermon book at about the same time may be more than a coincidence. The Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf, who obtained the diary from an Upper Parish family, may have obtained the sermon book at the same time. Allen published a Memoir of Codman (Boston, 1853).

³ York Vital Records, II, 16.

⁴ Nancy S. Voye, Massachusetts Officers in the French and Indian Wars 1748-1763, Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Boston, 1975), unpaginated.

⁵ York County Register of Probate, Book IX, 7, file no. 13359, Alfred, Maine.

⁶ Moody manuscript sermon book, Congregational Library, Boston, Mass. (original and microfilm), 18.

⁷ Ibid., 20.

⁸ Ibid., 24.

⁹ Ibid., 27.

¹⁰ Ibid., 32.

¹¹ Ibid., 33.

¹² Ibid., 34.

¹³ Ibid., 36.

¹⁴ Ibid., 39

15 Ibid., 139.

16 Ibid., 141.

17 Ibid., 142.

18 Ibid., 64.

19 Ibid., 158.

20 Ibid., 159.

21 Ibid., 279. Samuel Moody, *Vain Youth Summoned* (Boston, 1707), 18, used the same phrase, "mouth in the dust," but with a very different connotation. See chapter III, note 16 in the text.

22 Ibid., 279-280.

CHAPTER XI

MOODY'S MID-LIFE CRISIS

After his marriage to Lucy White on November 11, 1724, Moody continued to teach school in York and to preach in the church he had helped organize in the upper part of the town. The church provided him with a house and about ten acres of land. He also owned 80 or so acres which his father had given him. He continued to serve as town clerk until March of 1733, and during part of this time he served as a selectman. In 1727 the town voted to hire two schoolmasters, one to teach in the new schoolhouse near the First Church meeting house and the other to move about the town teaching school in various homes, as Moody had done for ten years. Voters in the Scotland district, as the upper part of the town was called, objected strongly to this arrangement, and Moody seems to have resigned as schoolmaster about that time. With the graduation of his two most promising students, both of whom were admitted to Harvard College after some difficulty, Moody seems to have lost interest in teaching, for his main interest was in preparing promising students for Harvard. No one went from York to Harvard for another fifteen years, when Moody's son Samuel enrolled, graduating in 1746.

Moody eagerly anticipated his election to the office of town clerk and seems to have enjoyed his new responsibilities. He wrote well and accurately with a legible hand and a touch

of elegance in the modest ornamentation with which he endowed the official records of the town. Here and there the records show his careful notation of a forgotten or misplaced deed, the recalling of some official action of the town or of the selectmen, placing it in the books where it would once again be of practical use to the community and to the citizens.

One of Moody's most significant contributions to the town was the establishment of consistent marriage records. Until his time, marriages were recorded irregularly as part of the town clerk's general record, if at all. The book of York marriages dates from the year he became town clerk. He also reorganized and perhaps originated the keeping of town birth and family records.

Moody's clerical skills were recognized by the Court of General Sessions, which, in April 1729, unanimously approved his appointment to be Register of Deeds and Conveyances for the county of York. He was sworn in as county treasurer at the same session. In January of 1730, he was appointed clerk of courts, pro tem, and the following October he was appointed by the Governor to be one of seven justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace. He was also assigned as a justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas. In 1731 he was commissioned to transcribe the county records from earliest times, and to him we owe the preservation of the ancient deeds of the province of Maine which, by the 1730's, were badly worn due to frequent handling, and some of which have since been lost. One hundred and fifty-six years later, when the York

deeds were set to print, Moody's manuscript proved invaluable.¹

We know little of Moody's family life, except that he and Lucy had five children, three sons and a daughter who survived, and an infant who died in the winter of 1736. Lucy died that year also and it may have been at childbirth. No stone marks the spot where her body lies buried. No doubt Lucy's death was a hard blow for Moody to endure. Clifford Shipton has said that Lucy took care of the mundane affairs of daily life for her husband, and that after her death he was unable to cope with the demands of daily life and so succumbed to a state of depression.² It seems unlikely, however, that a man who had been town clerk, who had represented the town before the county court, who had been county register of deeds and county treasurer, and who had been a skilled keeper of records past and present, would have stumbled beneath the burden of managing a household. Besides, he had a domestic servant, a slave by the name of Phyllis, who would have been competent to fulfill most of the household duties his wife had performed. Shipton's source was Jonathan Sewall, born ten years after Moody's death, whose biased account of Moody's crisis was published in William Spragues Annals, The Arminian Pulpit (Boston, 1853).

Lucy's untimely death doubtless brought great sorrow to Moody and increased the difficulties of rearing a family of four young children, the oldest of whom was 10 at the time of his mother's death in the autumn of 1738. Many men in similar circumstances, with the obvious problem of a young and mother-

less family, quickly remarried. Moody did not, although he was only thirty-six at the time of his wife's death, and there were numerous available marriage partners in York and in nearby communities. He had a home, a farm, an education, and a youthful history of being sexually attracted, and attractive, to women near his own age.

Moody's mid-life crisis was a crisis of the mind--of faith--for he was once again confronted with the fears, doubts, and anxieties of his early manhood. These, it seems, had been lying dormant in his mind while life moved along. They emerged now to trouble the mind and heart of a man grown older but who had not yet a certain conviction of his salvation. He had found a measure of fulfillment in his secular pursuits--he had entertained Arminian views of salvation--he had gained respect as a conscientious pastor, but he had never been able to reconcile the preparationist-predestinarian theology on which he had been nurtured as a child and with which he had grappled as a youth with those promises of the Word which offered grace and salvation. In short, Moody, a man of deep religious sensitivities, had never been effectually converted. In terms of preparationist-predestinarian logic, he was on the edge of the abyss, almost certain to be damned.

There are a number of clues to Moody's mid-life crisis, and to these we turn to unravel the mystery, the enigma of his profound anxiety about his relationship to the divine. Moody's life had long been divided between two worlds, the world of secular affairs, of books, and records, of courts and cases,

and the world of the spirit, of prayer and preaching, of sin and salvation. At the height of his success in county affairs Moody made a decision to give full time to his spiritual vocation. In 1731 the town of York was divided into two parishes, and in November of 1732 Moody was ordained to the pastorate of the Upper Parish church, whose people he had served as pastor for more than ten years.³ Perhaps he believed that this act of self-denial--he resigned his secular posts that meant so much to him--and of rededication would bring him to the place where God might look with favor upon him and grant him the assurance of salvation he sought. We cannot, of course, be sure of how Moody felt about this remarkable change of direction in his life, but it appears to have been an important change in perspective for him.

Moody, nevertheless, was never far from the court or the business of the law. In the summer of 1734 Moody became involved in the trial of Patience Boston, an Indian woman, indicted for the murder of her master's child. An account of her incarceration, trial, and execution was published jointly by Samuel and Joseph Moody. The most sensitive glimpses of the travail of Patience Boston are to be found in what is described in the publication as "Extracts from the Diary of a Person that was Conversant with the Deceased, during her Confinement." The "person" was apparently Joseph Moody, for the account reflects a keen appreciation of the legal aspects of the case as well as of Patience Boston's preparation of her soul for death and judgment.

Moody visited the condemned woman regularly throughout her confinement in the Old Gaol at York. The twenty-three year old woman had married a black man and was with him bound to perpetual servitude. She became pregnant by her husband shortly before her arrest and gave birth to the child in York some three months before her execution. She had been previously indicted for murder in the death of her first child when she claimed she had killed the child. She later withdrew her confession and, pleading innocent, was acquitted. The judges in this new instance suspected that she was confessing to a crime that she had not committed and they made an effort to dissuade her, but to no avail. They were left no alternative but to pronounce the death sentence.

In Moody's description of her despairing state, Patience Boston suffered the agonies of the damned during a year of imprisonment. No doubt her misery was as real and as vivid as Moody describes, but we must remember that the words are Moody's, and that they reflect his feelings about sin and punishment:

O I have offended a merciful God! I have offended the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . O, the Sin of Murther! Murther! Murther! . . . O to die Christless . . . O the door of Heaven is shut against me!--O Patience! Patience! you wicked Wretch, you first forsook God, and then he forsook you! . . . God's Anger is burning in my Soul! O my Soul is in Hell; my Soul is in Hell!

The language is that of preparationist theology. The strategy of the preparationists, we recall, was to bring the soul to the depths of despair, to ultimate humiliation, where one despaired of the hope of salvation. Moody visited Patience fre-

quently, at all hours of day and night throughout her long incarceration. He was especially attentive to her changing moods, from hope to despair, then to hope again. Her experience, according to Moody's account, followed the pattern of his own experience of hope and despair as described in the diary.

On the day of her final appearance before the court, in what appears to have been a final attempt to spare her life, the judges subjected her to a strict examination as to whether she had been persuaded by others to plead guilt. She insisted that she was indeed guilty, and the court reluctantly pronounced the sentence of death. She had met the preparationist test, declaring her guilt before God and man.

On the day of her execution Father Moody, who was, according to Joseph Moody, much criticized for his role in the case preached the execution sermon, declaring, to the displeasure of the crowd, that "Hundreds there present" would suffer a similar fate if they did not speedily repent of their sins also. Moody described the final moments of the condemned woman. When the time came she found it hard, Moody said, to part with her child, and "Mr. Moody read to her the Passage of Abraham's offering up his Son." She composed herself and walked to the place of execution where "she behaved herself very decently."

Moody's first person account reveals how deeply involved he was throughout her imprisonment and trial. And now at the end, he was there to walk the final mile with her, to "Gallows

Neck," where the York River meets the open sea. Moody was there not to watch a condemned criminal meet her fate but, rather, to witness the ascent of a true saint to glory. "After the rope was about her neck," said Moody, "I asked her whether she did not believe that Christ, who had helped her along so near her End, would help her along the few steps that yet remained?" She said yes "with a Smile which several others besides myself took notice of." After her face was covered, Father Moody asked her whether she remembered what she was supposed to say.

She said, Yes; and added, Lord Jesus receive my spirit. Soon after which the Executioner did his Office, and the dear Saint I doubt not quietly slept in Jesus. I believe there never was a more justly condemned Malefactor; that had a greater interest in the Hearts and Affections of the Children of God, than the Deceased.

The account of the trial and execution of Patience Boston is the only publication that bears Joseph Moody's name. He participated vicariously in her suffering and identified himself step by step with her experience, (Tradition relates that during his own darkest hours he spoke of himself as a "murderer".) Her confessions were his own, and the judgment and punishment she endured, he believed, he must also endure in spirit if not in the flesh if he were to be saved. The Patience Boston affair foreshadowed, in Moody's moving description of her alternating periods of hope and dark despair, his own impending spiritual crisis, when he should see himself as one condemned not to execution, but to eternal death.

Moody's mid-life crisis was precipitated by his involvement in the beginnings of Arminianism in New England. No

doubt personal factors such as the loss of his wife in 1736 and his own mental and emotional state were contributing factors. Theological, intellectual, and spiritual considerations, nevertheless, were of greater importance. We see these impinging upon Moody, forcing him to make increasingly difficult decisions, long before the symptomatic signs of his emotional and mental breakdown occurred.

Moody had first encountered Arminianism in 1720, the first year of his diary.⁵ Cotton Mather, in 1726, denied that there were any Arminians among the clergy of the New England churches.⁶ Eight years later, John White of Gloucester was convinced that the New England way was being seriously threatened by an Arminianism increasingly prevalent among young men entering the ministry. What shall we make of these contrasting points of view? First of all, Mather, who had repudiated, or at least set aside, the preparationist model of conversion, was in no position to identify Arminians among New England Puritans. Had Mather encountered an evangelical Arminian he no doubt would have embraced him as a brother in Christ, as he did the German Pietists who had little or nothing to say of either preparation or predestination. Mather was simply not as precise about such matters as was John White.

Richard Lovelace has pointed out that English Puritanism had, as early as the 1590's, begun to show signs of uneasiness with the rigorous discipline of preparationist-predestinarian theology, and that English Puritanism, aided by latitudinarians like Richard Baxter, and, in New England, by Cotton Math-

er was moving inexorably away from a strict Calvinist position.⁷ In New England, the preparationist discipline of the Hooker-Shepard tradition would collapse in the revivalist enthusiasm of the Great Awakening. Nineteenth-century revivalism, as Lovelace has shown, repudiated the Puritan model of conversion, which in the context of this dissertation is defined as the preparationist-predestinarian theology of Shepard.

John White was Joseph Moody's father-in-law and a lifelong friend of Samuel Moody. In 1734 he published a work that set forth the concerns that had troubled him for more than ten years, at the heart of which was his concern for young men like his son-in-law who had entered the ministry without having had a conversion experience and who had not remained as faithful as they ought to have to the standards of doctrine and church government laid down by the fathers of New England.⁸ White prefaced his address with a powerful text from Revelation 2. 4, 5: "Nevertheless I have somewhat against Thee, because thou has left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen and repent, and do the first Works . . . or else I will come . . . and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent." The letter published with the address and recommending it was signed by Peter Thacher of the New North Church, Joseph Sewall and Thomas Prince of Old South, John Webb of New North, William Cooper of Brattle Street Church and Thomas Foxcroft of First Church--all relative conservatives in the context of New England theology. Conspicuously absent

were Joshua Gee and Samuel Mather of Cotton Mather's old Second Church, Charles Chauncy of First Church, Samuel Checkley of New South Church, William Welsted of the New Brick Church, John Moorhead of Arlington Street Presbyterian Church, and Mather Byles of Hollis Street Church--all liberals. In an epistle dedicatory, White addressed all the churches of New England, but it was clear he was speaking to a house divided, at least in prestigious Boston.

Among the churches, White wrote, there was a tendency to fail to maintain strict discipline according to the Cambridge Platform of 1649 and the Reforming Synod of 1679 which set forth the need for an office of ruling elder to maintain church discipline. In addition, "disloyal thoughts" intruded into the hearts of the people, and there was a neglect of covenant keeping. He observed that many church members helped spread rumors and often falsely accused one another, a nefarious practice that could be remedied only by strict adherence to church discipline and government.

White was also concerned about the increasing numbers of young men forsaking their ministerial callings for more lucrative positions. The present shortage of money, he observed, was the frequent cause of this, but to make a vocational change was like "leaping out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire."⁹ These words, of course, fit the earlier situation of Joseph Moody precisely. For seven years prior to his ordination he had pursued with increasing success a career in public life,--town clerk and selectman, county clerk, recorder, treasurer, and

finally, with his appointment to the bench, justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Moody's diary, moreover, indicates that he was susceptible to the lure of fame and fortune, and, considering the demands of his growing family, his ambition is understandable. But for his father-in-law it was not. Having put one's hand to the plowshare of the gospel ministry, one ought not to turn back. The charge has been made that Father Moody insisted that his son should be a preacher in spite of an inclination and talent for secular pursuits. It appears, however, that John White's influence was the decisive factor in Moody's decision to devote himself exclusively to the pastoral ministry.

White saw the spread of "Soul destructive Errors" throughout New England, portending an imminent day of judgment. Atheism, deism, Socinianism and Arminianism, he declared, were all contributing to the decay of true godliness. He proposed that the power of godliness might be recovered and maintained by official suppression of vice and that there should be magisterial support of religion. Ministers ought to be more faithful in preaching sound doctrine and enforcing strict discipline within the churches. Christian lay people ought to engage in private family prayer, and there should be a greater readiness among people to share their spiritual hopes and needs with close friends and neighbors. Parents had the responsibility for Christian education and they ought to be more diligent in encouraging the children to shun "the first Motions to Sin, and to devote themselves to God's service."

White's main concern, however, was for the ministry of the churches. "It is a Matter of Lamentation," he declared, "that some of our Young Men," especially those who are devoted to and educated for the ministry, are now prejudiced against certain important articles of faith of the New England churches, and "cast a favourable Eye, upon, embrace, and as far as they dare, argue for, propagate, and preach the Arminian Scheme."¹⁰ There are many dark clouds over New England's churches, he declared, but this is "as dark and dismal as any." It is important to note that White was not claiming that certain of the younger ministers were openly advocating Arminianism, but that they were secret advocates and proponents of the heresy.

In White's definition of the distinction between the secret and the revealed will of God he set forth, in effect, the relationship between preparationism and predestination as he perceived it. Arminianism, said he, is an apostate faith because it ignores the distinction between the secret and the revealed will of God. The revealed will of God shows what one's duty is. The secret will of God shows what one's eternal destiny will be.¹¹ The secret will of God has chosen some to salvation and leaves others to damnation, "and all the account God is pleased to give to us for the present of this tremendous Affair is, because 'tis the good pleasure of his Will.. Eph 1.5." Arminianism was an apostate faith because, from the point of view of strict predestinarians like White, it sought to solve the riddle of divine predestination by removing the distinction between the secret and revealed will of God.

According to the Arminian scheme, if one were obedient to the revealed will of God, doing one's duty in all the prescribed steps and stages of preparation, one might conclude--erroneously from White's perspective--that the secret will of God had decreed one's salvation. The Arminianism White was combatting was not necessarily a theological affirmation of free will as such--as if man were free to choose whether to be saved or damned--but a claim upon God's secret will that bound it to the fulfillment of his revealed will.

But it was possible for a theological position that was soundly Calvinistic to be mistaken for Arminianism by those who, like White, linked predestination too firmly to preparationist assumptions.

If we take, at this point, a backward glance at the clash between Shepard and John Cotton on the threshold of New England's beginning, we see the beginning also of the divergence of opinion that eventually led to the fragmentation of the Puritan-Calvinist consensus. Cotton argued that the objective work of Christ was efficacious for salvation apart from and prior to any subjective experience of sanctification. In his "Rejoynder" to "The Elders' Reply" he argued that one might be saved simply by repenting and believing the gospel, and trusting one's salvation to God's absolute promise.¹² For Shepard and the Elders this was a denial of the need for preparation for grace. It also seemed to by-pass the doctrine of predestination and its corollary, the doctrine of reprobation. Cotton's position was rooted in the theology of Richard Sibbes,

who tended to disregard the doctrine of reprobation for the sake of those weak in faith who might be discouraged by it. "The possibility that the listener may have been damned formed no part of Sibbes's public outlook . . . [and] as a result he appeared to be preaching what Perkins had so vigorously castigated as false, a doctrine of universal call."¹³

Calvinists, generally, had agreed that the gospel invitation was extended to all men, whether predestined for salvation or reprobation. It has always been easy, as some modern scholars have done, to mistake the invitation for a theological assumption on the part of the preacher that all hearers were equally able to respond. At some point New England Puritans may indeed have begun to confuse the invitation with the theological assumption, but preparationists were not among them. Preparationists always kept before their hearers the possibility of damnation despite the most earnest and urgent search for grace. When preparationists like John White encountered "young men" like Joseph Moody who were trying to escape from the preparationist-predestinarian impasse, they suspected them of "Arminianism." John White, however, had an intimate personal knowledge of Moody's spiritual state and no doubt knew of his interest in Arminianism, so White's concern was not without foundation.

The purpose of White's New England Lamentations was, among other things, to set New England's young men straight on the true character of Arminianism. In addition to confusing the distinction between the secret and revealed will of God,

Arminians held the view that God must wait until the course of a man's life determines whether he will obey or disobey God. But this, said White, is to make the first cause wait upon the second, the will of God upon the will of man. Arminians agree that man's salvation is by divine decree, but they make the decree and its execution simultaneous. Moral suasion is not enough to engender faith. Only God's power through the Holy Spirit, said White, is able to regenerate, renew, and enable a man to believe. In the Arminian scheme, those who believe and persevere in faith and obedience are elected to salvation. White labeled this notion "Postdestination," and cited a work entitled A New Body of Divinity as the source of the idea,¹⁴ caustically declaring that "this Book rather deserves the Title of a Bundle of Errors, than of a Body of Divinity."

Arminians, according to White, held to the unscriptural notion that God's election of those who were to be saved depended on "the free Motion, Option, and Determination of their own Wills." The scriptural basis for salvation, however, is the merit of Christ alone, and not human decision. God from all eternity has "made provision for the worst" of men and has "laid in the Covenant of Redemption, a firm Foundation for the Salvation of his Elect." The Arminian scheme of salvation is therefore inconsistent with God's purpose, which is to save sinners by Jesus Christ through his sovereign and free grace alone. "Arminians," he declared, "take from free Grace and give to free Will." This opens the door to human pride and

boasting, thus removing the dependence upon Christ's justifying and saving grace. For Arminians, then, faith is merely assent to gospel truths which leads only to legal obedience. By Arminian standards there is no need of a work of regeneration in the heart, or an experience of "passive conversion," for all men are already made alive by Christ, and all that is needed is to improve free will and self-sufficiency. Arminians believe, White argued, that "we are justified by our Gospel Obedience, and inherent Righteousness," not by the righteousness of Christ imputed to the sinner, who has no righteousness of his own. This scheme therefore does not provide assurance of eternal salvation in this life because those who depend on their own righteousness and not on Christ's, although they appear to be in a state of grace, may fall from it and be eternally lost. And this is, of course, contrary to the scriptural doctrine of the perseverance of the saint. Furthermore, the Arminian scheme makes the way of salvation too plain and simple, and too inclusive in the light of the small number to be saved, in accordance with the doctrine of limited atonement.

White was not, of course, primarily interested in expounding the erroneous doctrines of Arminianism, but in addressing himself to the way young men were being led astray by the heresy:

Our young Men are apt to look upon old Books, as Men do upon old Houses, to be of little Worth; because not built according to the new Mode. And hearing some late Authors highly commended by those that are corrupted by them: and these corrupt Books being very agreeable to a nice Taste, as to their language, and as agreeable as to the Matter, suiting their proud and conceited Hearts, They presently

and greedily suck in those Opinions, and never peruse our professed Principles impartially and without Prejudice, and are ready to reject them before they understand them. And these accursed, poisonous and Soul damning Principles being wrap'd up in Sweet Language, are swallowed down and retained.¹⁵

There were ways of countering the pernicious effects of these corrupting influences, and White proposed certain "Methods to save some from their destructive Paths, and to recover others out of them." First of all, the one tempted toward Arminianism should be encouraged to examine the principles of the Congregational churches in the light of scripture to see if they are true. If they are not in agreement with scripture, he declared, then they should be rejected, even "tho' professed by your Fathers." We are to call no man father "so as to pin our Faith upon their Sleeve," but if their principles adhere to scripture, we must believe, profess, and hold them fast.

Addressing the clergy as "My Dear Brethren," he declared that it would be better to be porters and chimney sweeps than to lead others to hell with erroneous doctrines. Your confidence in Arminian principles, he told them, is misplaced and those who adhere to them will surely be damned. The foremost task is to experience a thorough work of conversion and regeneration, for many among the clergy had not yet been truly converted. The way to be converted was to become convinced of sin and of one's misery and to be deeply humbled by it. This was the most effectual safeguard against the corrupt principles of Arminianism--and the second of White's injunctions. One

must beware, at all costs, of trusting in "a Civil, Moral Way in practicing the Externals of Religion."

To safeguard the churches, White recommended, thirdly, that all churches be furnished with church officers according to the Cambridge Platform of 1649¹⁶ to avoid disorder and confusion, and ministers should reconcile themselves with congregational church government before accepting pastoral office in such a church. White was dealing here with one of the most controversial issues in New England Congregational history, for he was advocating "the Divine Right of Ruling Elders," Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici. The decline of godliness, the incursion of Arminianism, and the corruption of church government: These were the ills of New England that troubled John White in the early 1730's. But the most burdensome of his concerns was the susceptibility of his son-in-law Joseph Moody to the blandishments of Arminianism. If one so near to him could not be brought back to the fold, then all might be lost: "O then, let us contend earnestly for the Faith and Order of the Gospel, lest we be found to despise our Birthright, and destroy our selves."

John White's Lamentations accomplished its purpose in recovering one errant young man, Joseph Moody, from the Arminian heresy, but only after the death of White's daughter, Lucy White Moody. In September of 1737 an anonymous tract entitled A Faithful Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with a Person Lately Recovered from the Dangerous Errors of Arminius was

published in Boston. The tract, attributed to "the Rev. Mr. Moody of York," has been commonly assumed to be the work of Samuel Moody, but in the light of Father Moody's strong commitment to Calvinism that is unlikely if not impossible. There are too many experiences and feelings common to Moody's diary and the Faithful Narrative--all pointing to Moody's authorship. There is (in the tract) an account of the writer's attraction to Arminian books, his aversion to hard-line predestinarianism, his admission to an impulse to follow his natural inclination to exalt self over the Spirit, and his reluctance to submit to the conversionist system of the preparationists. The tract, like the diary, describes the essential features of the preparationist discipline which the writer had tried to follow scrupulously in his youth but which he had rebelled against. The writer spoke ardently of his resolve to renew his covenant with God, and in terms similar to those Moody used in the diary. He acknowledged, as did the diarist, that he did not know he was among the elect, even though he accepted, finally, the truth of the doctrine. An incident in the tract of a visit to a bookshop where Arminian books were on sale is strikingly similar to Moody's account of his purchase of a book that he supposed, he said, would do him much harm. The writer of the tract experienced "very great and outward afflictions" which God visited upon him to bring him out of his errors. We recall that Moody's wife died the year before the Faithful Narrative was published. The writer's reticence, his reluctance to publish his experiences and feelings, his ultimate ration-

alization that to do so would be of help to others to find their way to the truth of God, all are characteristic of Joseph Moody.

The Faithful Narrative, then, was written by Joseph Moody as a reply, and a concession, to the charges made by John White in New England's Lamentations that "young men" reared in the Puritan (Congregational) tradition had perversely denied the doctrine of predestination and been seduced by Arminianism. Moody's concession to his father-in-law gave him a temporary reprieve from the inner turmoil he felt concerning his unconverted state, but it helped set the stage for his emotional and spiritual collapse in the fall of 1738. The tragic death of his wife seemed to him an evident sign of God's displeasure and confirmed his fear that he was among the damned. The Faithful Narrative provides an insight into Moody's state of mind between the death of his wife in 1736 and his collapse in 1738. We turn now to an examination of this tract that reveals the nature and intensity of Moody's mid-life crisis.

"I must acknowledge with grief of Soul," Moody wrote, "that by reading Arminian books, some of the Writings of such as are called Free thinkers, I came to be so stumbled at the Doctrine of Election, that I could not hear it preached without being very uneasy." The appeal of what he read in Arminian books was, he admitted, that it raised his self-esteem by exalting man and nourishing "the natural bent and bias" to promote self-interest. This he clearly saw to be contrary to God's purpose for man, which was to be converted through a complete submission to God's sovereign will. God decided whether a man should be saved or

left to perish in sin and unbelief, and the sole reason why God had mercy on some and not on others was "because it is his Will, and because it seemeth good in his sight."

The apostate, Moody wrote, had withdrawn from this austere theology. Moody retreated, partly out of natural inclination and partly because he had taken to reading Arminian books. About the same time, he said, he fell into company with some men of wit and learning whose point of view concurred with what he had been reading, and who agreed that the doctrine of election was not consistent with truth, with justice, and with the mercy of God. Moody began entertaining the notion that free will rather than "free grace" was the key to salvation, but he had problems of conscience accepting this doctrine, too. In words reminiscent of his diary, Moody described "the mighty convictions I had been under in my youthful Time," when he had pleaded God's free and everlasting love to the vilest of sinners. In retrospect it seemed to him that the doctrine of election had been exceedingly comforting, "whilst I was constrained to plead Guilty; and had Nothing, no not so much as one good Desire, that I could possibly raise in myself, which might recommend me to the favor of God." With these words Moody summarized precisely the main theme of his diary. This was also the attitude encouraged by preparationist discipline. The Faithful Narrative agrees with the diary in that Moody never claimed to have a conversion experience. In the Faithful Narrative, as in his diary, his highest religious experience was in his renewal of his covenant with God: "Now, in the multitude of my Thoughts, it came into my Mind to renew my covenant

with God; and I did it in a Solemn manner, and as composedly as could be, under such distressing and almost distracting Trouble: Outward and inward Sorrows like two Seas, meeting together."¹⁷

It is difficult to determine the sequence of events in Moody's life and thought beyond the diary years, or whether or not there was a direction to his experience that led him from one state of mind to another. What he seems to be saying, in the Faithful Narrative as in his diary, was that his assessment of his spiritual state fluctuated sporadically between the extremes of hope and despair and that his contacts with and interest in Arminianism occurred over an extended period of time during the seventeen years from the beginning of the diary to the publication of the Faithful Narrative. In both the tract and the diary Moody's state of mind regarding his prospects for salvation are central.

It is clear from the Faithful Narrative that Moody associated his wife's death with divine chastizement for his flirtation with Arminianism. Despite the warnings of his conscience he continued "hankering after and listning to" Arminian doctrines, being "e'en bewitch'd away from the Truth as it is in Jesus," and carried further into these "plausible and pleasing"¹⁸ but dangerous errors. This continued, he confessed, "till it pleased God (I hope in everlasting Mercy to my Soul) to visit me with very great and sore outward Afflictions"--the death of his wife in 1736--"which brought on darkness and distress of Mind and Conscience . . . and it seem'd as if I had

but a little while to live." "So I spent almost whole Days alone, meditating Terror; and in the Night, sleep departed from mine Eyes." At the heart of his distress, he believed, was his questioning of the doctrine of election and his criticism of its defenders. The remedy and solution to his dilemma was openly to confess his error in the hope that God would forgive him and finally give him the assurance that he was among the elect.

It was no easy matter, however, for Moody to publish his confession after he had written it. He struggled within himself, he said, whether to confide in anyone, even to "a bosom Friend," to say nothing of publishing his confession for all to read. Torn between his desire to keep his secret to himself and his sense of responsibility for those who might be going through the same sort of temptation, Moody made the decision to publish his tract. It is clear from his concluding words that a primary reason for publishing the tract, however, was to apologize to the ministerial defenders of the doctrine of predestination whom he believed he had offended. These were, we may assume, his father and John White. The Faithful Narrative was by no means a celebration of the victory of faith and grace. His case, he admitted, was still gloomy, "neither so dark as it has been, nor so light as I hope in God's Time it may be."

Moody's darkest days were still ahead of him. A year later he was in Hartford, seeking, perhaps, a pulpit or a position in a new location. Daniel Wadsworth (1704-1747),

pastor of the First Church in Hartford, met with him and described Moody as "a man of piety and edifying conversation tho' too talkative." Shortly thereafter, Moody retreated into silence and despair, succumbing to the "theocentric anxiety" that had hounded him from his early manhood.

The next we hear of Moody's plight is in a letter from his father to Edward Wigglesworth at Harvard College, at the conclusion of which Father Moody requested Wigglesworth's prayers "for my poor Son."²⁰ Moody's situation, it seems, was widely known, for Father Moody assumed Wigglesworth knew why prayers for his son were in order. On March 19, 1740, Father Moody received a monetary gift from Benjamin Colman for his son, replying immediately--even before he had opportunity to convey it to him and receive his son's acknowledgement. Colman, who had been to York previously, knew both Samuel and Joseph Moody well, and contributed regularly to needy people there.²¹ In October of 1740, George Whitefield, the itinerant evangelist who was setting all New England ablaze with spiritual fervor, visited York. To him we owe the clearest contemporary insight into the nature of Moody's problem:

Mr. Moody has a Son a Minister who was once full of Faith and Joy in the Holy Ghost, and walked in the Light of God's Countenance, and made a Full Proof of his Ministry; but for these Two Years last past has walked in Darkness and saw no Light. He has an inexpressible gloomyness upon his Soul, and cannot apply any of the Promises to himself. I was inform'd, that he was at Meeting but dared not see me.²²

The date of Whitefield's visit to York and his observations clearly date the beginning of Moody's melancholic depression

as being in the fall of 1738. Whitefield's comments also show that Moody's personal crisis was understood by his contemporaries and acquaintances to be primarily a matter of despair over faith and salvation. It is also important to note that the persuasive powers of the Grand Itinerant were insufficient to break through Moody's despairing conviction that God had abandoned him to eternal damnation.

As early as April 1739, the Second Parish had voted "to supply the pulpit from time to time or so long as the Rev. Mr. Jos. Moody shall remain incapable."²³ The parish, however, continued to pay Moody's salary. In August 1741, the Second Parish Church finally called an ecclesiastical council to seek the advice of other churches "whether to seek for the speedy Settlement of another Person in the Ministry among them, or to wait longer in hope of the Recovery of their present Pastor from that disorder of Body and Mind whereby he has been taken of from his Pastoral Services about three years."²⁴ The council recommended that the church seek another pastor, and on November 23, 1741, Samuel Chandler (1713-1775) agreed to settle as pastor of the church. Moody, unable to care for his children or himself, had closed his home and was boarding with a neighboring family. The church rented Moody's house and Chandler lived there until he resigned in October 1749.

Moody's crisis seriously impaired his physical health. He seems to have aged rapidly after 1738. As a young man Moody had enjoyed being with other people, although he was self-conscious in the presence of those with status. In the depths of

his personal crisis he retreated from all social contact and avoided public gatherings. Whitefield came to York again in early November of 1744, being forced to make port in York Harbor and remaining in the town for more than a week while recovering from illness. He preached there but once before going to Portsmouth, his original destination. But before leaving York he went out of his way by several miles to visit Moody. Again we owe to Whitefield a picture of Moody in his darkest hour.

In our way we called upon Mr. Moody's son who has been under great dejection of spirit and power of melancholy for several years. Never did I see anybody more resemble holy Job, when his friends stood at a distance and were afraid to speak to him. I could have sat by him and held my tongue a considerable time. He often said, "Look and learn, look and learn." "If such a creature as I am can be used as a step for you to step to heaven by I shall be glad," with many things to the like persuasion--He can talk excellently of many things, but cares by no means to talk of himself. Oh that the day of his mourning may be ended and his latter end greatly increase as Job's did! O that I may remember his advice, Look and Learn, for how know I what may befall me ere I die?²⁵

NOTES: CHAPTER XI

¹ For Moody's election as Town Clerk, see York Town Records, vol. II, 1724-1802, page 3. For his role in county affairs, see Record of the Court of General Sessions, vol. VIII, pages 29, 59, 65, and 106, and vol. IX, page 19. See also York Deeds, Book I (Portland, Maine, 1887), "Preface," pages 6, 11, 12, 13, and 15.

² Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VI (Boston, 1942), 259-262.

³ "A Record of the Accompts and promiscuous Votes of the Church in Wells," First Church of Wells, Maine (Second Parish of Wells), Records, 1701-1806. Maine Historical Society Archives, Portland, Maine.

⁴ Samuel Moody and Joseph Moody, A Faithful Narrative of the Wicked Life and Remarkable Conversion of Patience Boston (Boston, 1738).

⁵ See chapter V, above.

⁶ Cotton Mather, Ratio Disciplinae (Boston, 1726). See chapter VI, above.

⁷ Richard F. Lovelace, The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979), 104-109.

⁸ John White, New England's Lamentations (Boston, 1734). The publication includes "Reasons for Adhering to our Platform and answers to some Objections against Ruling Elders" ("by another hand") and "A Vindication of the Divine Authority of Ruling Elders, by A Provincial Assembly of Presbyterian Ministers at London, 1649."

⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰ Ibid., 16.

¹¹ Ibid., 18

¹² David D. Hall, ed., The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History (Middletown, Connecticut, 1968), 43-59, 76, and 146.

¹³ Larzer Ziff, The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience (Princeton, 1962), 32.

¹⁴ White, Lamentations, 19. White may have been referring to Philippus Van Limborch's Theologica Christiana which was translated into English, edited by William Jones and published as A Compleat System or Body of Divinity (4 vols., London, 1713). For an analysis of the significance of Limborch's work and of the Arminian penetration of England see Rosalie L. Colie, Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians (Cambridge, 1957). If White was referring to Limborch's book, that means that it had been brought to New England by the early 1730s. Jonathan Edwards, however, did not know of it as late as 1747, or made no mention of it, when he was looking for books that presented a strong defense of the Arminian position. See note 23, chapter VI above.

¹⁵ White, Lamentations, 26.

¹⁶ For a description of the office of Ruling Elder see Williston Walker, The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism (Boston, 1960 [1893]).

¹⁷ [Joseph Moody], A Faithful Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with a Person Lately Recovered from the Dangerous Errors of Arminius (Boston, 1737), 6. For Moody's covenant affirmation in his diary, see chapter II, note 35, above.

¹⁸ In a sermon on John 17.2 (Moody Ms. Sermons, 33, Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.), Moody, in referring to the Arminian view that the Bible expressly asserts that all men may be saved, admitted, "Thus plausibly argues the Arminian." He immediately added, however, "But I answer . . . This can't be taken in a strict literal sense for then all Men would be certainly saved . . ." Father Moody would never have been willing to debate the issue, much less admit that the Arminian position was "plausible."

¹⁹ Daniel Wadsworth, The Diary of the Rev. Daniel Wadsworth (1704-1747), ed. by Rev. George L. Walker (Hartford, Conn., 1894), 26. In a note on Moody, Walker commented that "He was a considerable part of his life a hypochondriac and in extended periods wore a handkerchief over his face."

²⁰ Samuel Moody to Edward Wigglesworth, October 17, 1739, Autograph File, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. For the contents of Samuel Moody's letter, see above, chapter VIII, note 22.

²¹ Samuel Moody to Benjamin Colman, March 19, 1740, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

²² George Whitefield, A Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal from His Return to Georgia to his Arrival at Falmouth (London, 1741), 82, Thursday, October 2, 1740.

²³ Second Parish Records, York, Maine, April 17, 1739.

²⁴ First Church of Wells, Records, August 16, 1741.

²⁵ Ernest Edward Eels, ed., "An Unpublished Journal of George Whitefield," Church History VII (1938), 312.

CHAPTER XII

"HOLY JOB" RESTORED

The Reverend Mr. Moody glanced at his watch and made his way to the pulpit. A large and distinguished audience had gathered at the Second Church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the occasion of the ordination of Mr. Job Strong, a protégé of the late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd, to the pastorate of the church. The Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, who was to preach the ordination sermon, had been delayed. Mr. Moody, who had been asked to offer the prayer before the sermon, began the prayer with the awareness that, if Mr. Edwards did not arrive by the time the prayer was concluded, he (Moody) would also have to deliver the sermon, a task which he did not relish under the circumstance of the disappointed expectations of the congregation who had come to hear the famous Mr. Edwards.

Why was the Reverend Mr. Joseph Moody, a man who had been dismissed from his pulpit eight years before because of mental and physical disability, taking part in such a prestigious event as the ordination of David Brainerd's protégé? Above all, why had he, of all the clergy on hand, been asked to stand-in for Edwards in the event the latter did not arrive in time? The answer lies in Moody's rather remarkable recovery after seven years of disability and in his relationship to Edwards and his circle.

There were a score of men at the ordination and in the area who might have been considered for the honor over Moody, who at the time held no pastorate. There was Isaac Lyman, newly called to First Church in York although not yet ordained --Northampton-born, baptized by Solomon Stoddard, a classmate of Job Strong at Yale College. There was John Tucker of Newbury, an intellectual who would eventually acquire earned and honorary doctors degrees and give a Dudleian lecture at Harvard College. There was Daniel Rogers of Exeter, for nine years a tutor at Harvard College, who, although not yet ordained, was a fervid "new light" preacher. There was the highly respected John Tufts of West Newbury who had done so much to introduce the new method of singing into the churches. And there were Jonathan Cushing of Dover, John Rogers of Kittery, with whom Edwards was in correspondence,¹ John Newmarch of First Church Kittery, and Samuel Jefferds of Wells, all respected men with long years of service. Strong's colleague at North Parish Church in Portsmouth was Samuel Langdon, a regimental chaplain at Louisburg, a future president of Harvard College, a future president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the first New Hampshire clergyman to receive a doctorate. But it was Moody, "a gentleman of unquestioned talents and piety," who had agreed, if Edwards were unable to arrive in time, "to be his substitute in preaching the sermon."²

Moody's "Introductory Prayer" provides a clue to the relationship that existed between Moody and Edwards. Moody,

according to the reporter of the incident--Edwards's daughter Mary--offered a prayer which "was wholly characteristic of himself." The fifteen-year-old Mary Edwards, who had gone before her father to Portsmouth to visit friends of the family there, seems to have had a first-hand knowledge of Moody's distinctive way of praying from previous occasions where she had heard and seen him. The preciseness and detail of her recollections seem to reflect her familiarity with Moody's manner of speaking--details that could not have been known by Sereno Edwards Dwight, her grandson, who described the incident in his Life of President Edwards.

Moody, according to the account attributed to Mary Edwards, extolled the great man (Edwards) as "a burning and shining light" whom God had raised up for special tasks as a preacher and writer of "superior talents and wisdom." He prayed that God would spare Edwards's life and "endow him with still higher gifts and graces, and render him still more eminent and useful than he had been"--words that suggest an on-the-spot participant rather than the subsequent reflections of a narrator. Thus far we have, however, encountered nothing that might be more than a general public assessment of Edwards's person and ministry.

After Moody had prayed at length for Edwards, he shifted his attention to Mary Edwards herself, sitting in the congregation. We may justifiably imagine that Mary Edwards never forgot Moody's words regarding her that day--before a full congregation of prominent people--that, though she was "a

very worthy and amiable young lady," she was still, "as they had reason to believe, without the grace of God, and in an unconverted state." Who knew about this except members of the Edwards family and a few people in the inner circle of Edwards's friends and associates? And who would have made public such a matter except one whose own unconverted state had become generally known--in a time when such things were matters of general concern? Moody's manner of addressing the issue reflected his own youthful experience: He prayed that God would bring her to repentance and forgive her sins, "and not suffer the peculiar privileges which she enjoyed,"--Mary Edwards Dwight recalled many years later--"to be the means of a more aggravated condemnation." The words were Moody's, recalling his father's sermon, The Doleful State of the Damned Especially such as go to Hell from under the Gospel; Aggravated from the Apprehension of the Saints Happiness in Heaven, preached when Joseph was but ten years old. Moody had known the "peculiar privileges" of sitting under the preaching of a godly father, and he knew the price to be paid in "aggravated condemnation" if one were not to respond to such preaching.

Unknown to Moody, Edwards had arrived at the door of the church shortly after he had begun to pray. Edwards had moved unobtrusively and silently to the platform behind Moody who, hearing not a sound but his own voice, bestowed lavish praise on the great man, unmindful of the embarrassed presence behind him. Finally, Moody concluded the prayer and opened

his eyes to look into the faces of a large congregation whose gaze was transfixed upon some object behind him. Moody turned to look and came face to face with the somber Edwards. Moody's wit served him well in a moment potentially as embarrassing to him as to Edwards. His words, which should assure him a small measure of immortality, at least, in the annals of Puritanism,³ reveal something of the cordiality and intimacy that characterized their relationship:

Brother Edwards, we are all of us much rejoiced to see you here to-day, and nobody, probably, as much so as myself; but I wish that you might have got in a little sooner, or a little later, or else that I might have heard you when you came in, and known you were here. I didn't intend to flatter you to your face; but there's one thing I'll tell you: They say that your wife is a going to heaven, by a shorter road than yourself.⁴

What did Moody know of Edwards's religious experience and of the long road he had travelled to attain a measure of hope that he should finally be saved? Perry Miller has said of Edwards: "He could not say that he was converted, but he could say that Sarah was. When he foresaw that he might be destined to the lowest place in hell, he was not attitudinizing: he was stating a bare fact."⁵ But Miller had the advantage of access to Edwards's published diary. Somehow, Moody, without access, apparently, to Edwards's private papers, knew that Edwards's religious pilgrimage had been similar to his own. A plausible explanation is that Edwards and Moody had shared their experiences of youthful religious crises.

Edwards, like Moody, had gone the preparationist route and had failed to come to grace through it. At the age of

nineteen, Edwards had admitted that "The reason why I, in the least, question my interest in Gods love and favor is . . . Because I cannot speak so fully to my experience of that preparatory work, of which the divines speak . . . I do not remember that I experienced regeneration, exactly in those steps, in which the divines say it is generally wrought."⁶ But Edwards met the challenge of preparationism far more successfully than Moody. Even though preparationism caused Edwards to doubt that he had grace, his approach to the problem posed by preparationism was more coolly logical than Moody's:

The chief thing, that now makes me in any measure to question by good estate, is my not having experienced conversion in those particular steps, wherein the people of New England, and anciently the Dissenters of Old England, used to experience it. Wherefore, now resolved, never to leave searching, till I have satisfyingly found out the very bottom and foundation, the real reason, why they used to be converted in those steps.⁷

Edwards discovered "the very bottom and foundation" of preparationism and published the results in his Religious Affections in 1746, which Moody promptly read.⁸

But what could Moody have known of the religious experience of Edwards's wife Sarah, unless he had heard about it from Edwards's inner circle or from Edwards himself? The well-known apostrophe in praise of Sarah Pierrepont" was not published until 1829, but Moody seems to have known about her intimate relation to God well enough to have alluded to it in the rather cryptic statement he addressed to Edwards under circumstances that called for something to save them both from the embarrassment of the moment.⁹

Moody was not without his influence on Edwards. Whether or not Edwards was embarrassed by Moody's references to his as yet unconverted daughter--as Mary Edwards must have been embarrassed--Edwards took the matter to heart and a month later wrote to her appealing to her not to risk the peril of possibly dying "without the grace and favour of God." The entire letter was devoted to Edwards's concern that his daughter might become ill and die. Yet it was not that she might die, said Edwards, but that she might die unconverted that troubled her parents. Mary Edwards had good reason to remember the Reverend Mr. Moody's prayer.¹⁰

We owe to Samuel Chandler the first account of Moody's ministerial activity following his long illness, apart from a tradition that Moody held services in his father's church while Father Moody was at Louisburg with the Pepperrell expedition of 1745. Moody was with Chandler in Portsmouth in late January 1746 for special services of prayer and fasting. On that occasion, Chandler noted, Moody prayed for an hour, from noon till one, and William Shurtleff, Job Strong's predecessor at South Parish Church, preached the afternoon sermon. That evening Moody again prayed and preached a short sermon from Psalm 103.19. During the months that followed Moody was frequently present as a participant in services. He usually prayed, and his prayers ranged from an hour to two hours in length. It was at one of these services that Moody read Edwards's Religious Affections to the congregation.

Edwards's Religious Affections provided the material not only for Moody's sermons and lectures but a basis for interpreting his own experience as well. The opening words of Edwards's first chapter had to do with the trial of one's faith. Only through trials and temptations, Edwards wrote, can the faith of a Christian be proven true. These words, relevant as they were to Moody's recent experience, had special meaning for him. Moody had known great trials since his wife had died ten years before. Because of his experiences, he was, in a sense, a different man from the one he had been in the prime of youth when he was so troubled about the state of his soul. Like Bunyan's "Man of Despair" shut up in an "Iron Cage," Moody had also passed through deep waters, and had emerged, if not as one who had triumphed over doubt and despair, at least as one who had survived the Slough of Despond. The revivals of the Great Awakening had left Moody unmoved. He had learned well from Shepard that one ought not to trust one's feelings in matters of faith. He viewed the Awakening as a spectator rather than as a participant.

By the time of Whitefield's second visit to New England, in 1744, the strength of the Awakening was ebbing, and the stage was set for Edwards to salvage what he could of it with what Miller has called "the ultimate philosophy of the revival."¹¹ Edwards's purpose in writing Religious Affections was, however, more a matter of correcting the abuses of revivalism that had brought the Awakening into disrepute than in expounding how revivals might be better defended and exe-

cuted. Those who were truly saved must give heed to the head as well as to the heart if they were to distinguish correctly between false and true affections. Insanity must not be mistaken for piety. "If the great things of religion are rightly understood, they will affect the heart." But these great things must first be understood--that was Edwards's point. The great things of religion had not, it seemed, affected Moody's heart in the right way, and that may have been because Moody had not rightly understood them. Perhaps he may have misunderstood Shepard after all--so it may have seemed to Moody when he eagerly read Edwards's latest book and found in its pages a Shepard quite different from the one he thought he knew so well.

We may assume, from what we know of Moody's reading habits of earlier days, that he was generally familiar with what Edwards had published to date.¹² And he would have had more than a passing interest in the life and works of the grandson of Solomon Stoddard. Moody knew Shepard, and knew him well--and Edwards's new book was full of Shepard. But here was no Parable of the Ten Virgins with a disturbing declaration that many who thought themselves bound for heaven were, in fact, doomed to hell. Here was a cool, methodical analysis of the way in which religious affections work for saint and sinner alike. Moody learned from Edwards that there was no conflict between sensibility and understanding in the divine light that illumined Shepard's wise virgins. There was rather a continuity between sensibility and understanding

so that the mind and the senses, with the will, formed a single function by which the individual soul was enabled to lay hold upon God. During the diary years and throughout his mid-life crisis Moody was torn between his sensibilities--emotions--and his understanding of faith. He perceived part of his being assenting to faith and another part resisting, and by this inner conflict he was brought to a state of despair.

The problem for Moody and for others who pursued salvation by way of the introspective discipline of preparation was that subjective concerns were at the center of their experience and the promises of the Word were peripheral. Edwards helped Moody to break the impasse by allowing him to see himself as a unified being who was able by God's grace to respond to the invitation of the gospel. John E. Smith, in his Introduction to Edwards's Religious Affections, describes the plight of those, like Moody, "who retained a more rationalistic conception of illumination" and were thus unable to provide for the senses. "For them there was always dualism in the self; the senses stand as lawless on one side and the law is provided by the understanding on the other."¹³ Edwards, Smith says, had no such dualism and thus was better able to retain the integrity of the person.

Shepard had set forth a dualism that pitted the senses against the understanding. The result was a paralysis of the will for those who were unable to come to terms with the unruly demands of a divided self. For those who followed Shepard's preparationism to the end, despite their inability to attain

salvation through it, there was no way out, and many of these wounded souls finally gave up hope altogether. Another failing of Shepard's preparationism was that it gave more attention to searching out signs of hypocrisy than it did to discerning the motions of the Spirit in the soul. The result was that tender souls like Moody saw hypocrisy in themselves and impending judgment more clearly than they saw the hope of salvation.

Edwards, in his Religious Affections, provided the means by which Moody was able to escape the implications of Shepard's preparationist-predestinarian theology which arrested the soul in that stage of the preparatory process that the individual could not reconcile with his or her own experience and understanding of the religious process.¹⁴ Edwards repudiated the notion of preparatory stages, while at the same time reordering Shepard's theology of conversion to make it fit his own perception of the nature of man. Shepard's notion of three stages of the preparatory process was supported by his tripartite division of the nature of man: conviction was for Shepard primarily an awareness of the understanding, compunction an awareness of the senses or of the heart, and humiliation a function of the will by which the soul renounced understanding and affections to become "content" with being damned. Shepard held that although the understanding might respond to conviction of sin in any man, only the elect could experience compunction and humiliation. Moody experienced conviction of sin, but in Shepard's terms that was not enough.

Moody occasionally felt compunction--a pricking of the heart--but he failed the test of humiliation--unable to be "content" to be damned--and consequently despaired of the hope of salvation. Edwards, in contrast to Shepard with whom he otherwise agreed, began with right understanding and made that the ultimate test of the validity of the affections of the heart. By abandoning both the tripartite psychology and the theory of stages propounded by Shepard, Edwards made it possible for those like Moody, who were cerebral in orientation but bound by subjective considerations--the expectation that they should "feel" the motions of the Spirit within--to attain an integrated hold on their experience of faith from the vantage point of their strongest suit--their understanding of abstract theology and their intellectual perception of the divine-human relationship.

Among the Edwards papers in Beinecke Library at Yale University is a letter from Edwards to Thomas Foxcroft in Boston, written in Newbury, Massachusetts, and dated April 23, 1751. That spring Edwards had come to Boston from Northampton seeking delegate support for an ecclesiastical council to be held in May to determine whether he should have the approval of the churches in accepting a call to the Indian mission at Stockbridge. After meeting with Foxcroft and other sympathetic Boston friends, he journeyed on to Kittery in the Province of Maine where he solicited the support of Sir William Pepperrell for his work at Stockbridge.¹⁵ Several

ministerial friends in the area warned him that Charles Chauncy, his archrival from the outset of the Great Awakening, was attempting to influence Boston churches not to send delegates to the Hampshire council, thus blocking the endorsement Edwards sought for his Stockbridge call. Returning to Newbury, Edwards sent a letter to Foxcroft asking him to speak to several of his Boston colleagues to encourage them to send delegates so that his call to Stockbridge might be confirmed.

The letter is important for our purposes, not for what it discloses concerning Edwards's problems but because it contains a commentary on Shepard's Sound Believer and some notes on the theme of rational versus scriptural preaching. These two items seem to be in the same hand although the hand of the latter is considerably larger than the hand of the Shepard commentary, to which we turn our attention. Edwards had quoted Shepard's Sound Believer extensively in his Religious Affections, and one may suppose that our commentator had earlier read Edwards's work and now wrote the reflections on Shepard's Sound Believer because a letter in hand written by Edwards recalled to mind his reading of both works. We shall therefore consider what Edwards wrote about Shepard's views and how the commentator viewed the same work.

Edwards quoted from the 1742 edition of Shepard's Sound Believer; our commentator cited the 1736 edition.¹⁶ Edwards's use of The Sound Believer was to demonstrate that Shepard concurred with him that sanctification was the chief evidence of justification, not the testimony of the Spirit, which was,

of course, an Antinomian position. The distinction between gracious and false affections, the theme of Edwards's work, is that the man who is a true believer, in Edwards's words, "continues still a poor beggar at God's gates, exceedingly empty and needy," but the man of false affections boasts of his spiritual gifts.¹⁷

The great difference between saints and hypocrites, Edwards went on, is that the joy and comfort of saints is attended by godly sorrow and mourning for sin, precisely what Shepard had said. Saints know sorrow before conversion "to prepare 'em for their first comfort," and after conversion sorrow is mingled with their joy and comfort. Like the children of Israel, the believer is evermore to feed on the paschal lamb, with bitter herbs. Edwards noted that Shepard warned that one must not reach out and grasp Christ presumptuously. Faith, even true faith, must not comfort and quiet one, but rather disturb one continually through a godly sorrow for sin. The more vile one is in his own eyes, so Edwards observed Shepard had said, the more Christ's love will mean to him.

Holy practice, said Edwards, is "the main sign of sincerity." He agreed completely with Shepard, he asserted, when he declared that "there was nothing legal, nothing derogatory to the freedom and sovereignty of gospel grace," and nothing in this doctrine at odds with the doctrine of justification by faith alone. Edwards wholeheartedly supported Shepard's view that sanctification, that is, a wholly sanctified life, was the main evidence of justification.

Edwards's strategy, in his free use of Shepard's works, was to remove the onus of preparationism by disregarding the "stages" or "method" advocated by the early preparationists and by reintroducing spiritual discipline as the central motif of the Christian life. It was no longer necessary, from Edwards's perspective, to be concerned with the time or sequence of spiritual events in one's life, and so it was no longer necessary to defend against the charge that spiritual preparation required more grace on the part of an unregenerate man than it did of a saint. Preparationism had been removed from consideration as a means of grace, but reinstated and legitimized by its association with sanctification as a mark and sign of true faith.

Returning now to a consideration of the significance of the commentator's hand on Edwards's letter to Foxcroft, we may conjecture that the commentary, or rather, summary, of a key passage from Shepard's Sound Believer was intended for Edwards himself, as it appears that the letter was returned to Edwards. Here was an admirer of Edwards, one of his inner circle of friends, pointing out that Shepard had strongly stated the view that the Spirit Himself was at work in the preparation of the elect for grace before the individual had given any evidence that grace had been imparted. Someone within the Edwardsean circle was still trying to make sense of conversion experience in pre-revival terms--as late as 1751!

Our commentator, however, followed the beat of an antique drum. He was suggesting questions that Edwards wished to ig-

nore and that people were no longer concerned about. We may assume that he was suggesting these questions--whether there is true repentance before saving faith for the elect and whether the Spirit is at work in turning the elect sinner away from sin before grace is bestowed--because these matters were of personal concern to him. If these things could be affirmed--as Shepard had clearly said--then there was hope for one who was still seeking grace without having had a conversion experience. Indeed, he may have had some encouragement along these lines from Edwards's private thoughts on the matter.¹⁸

Union with Christ, according to Shepard, took place in two steps before the elect sinner was actually converted. First, the elect sinner must be cut off from sin: only then would the soul be engrafted into Christ. All resistance must be broken before "the Lord draw the soul to Christ, and by faith implant it into Christ."¹⁹ It was necessary, said Shepard, for the elect sinner to be "wounded" by sin rather than merely troubled by it. Hypocrites and those of false faith were troubled by sin, but they were never wounded by it. Elsewhere Shepard had argued that "the wound of preparation" followed from the soul's separation from God as well as from sin.²⁰ The soul must feel utter desolation, Shepard had declared, not pleasure from sin nor comfort from God. In this state the elect sinner felt himself to be irreparably lost. But it was in this darkest hour of the soul that the Spirit of God did His work, and union of the soul with Christ ef-

fectured by a special work of grace, although as yet unrecognized by the self-condemning sinner.

Whose hand was this that inscribed a summary of Shepard's position on the Spirit's special work in turning the elect but still unconverted sinner to Christ on the remaining open space on Edwards's letter to Foxcroft? The suggestion here is that the commentator was Moody. He knew Shepard well, both from his reading of Shepard and from his personal experience of preparationist-predestinarian theology. He had read Edwards's Religious Affections and would have known that Edwards had made no reference in his work to the passage in question. Edwards, through his Religious Affections, had helped Moody gain a new perspective on Shepard. He had helped Moody see that the spiritual travail he had endured was part of a larger picture of God's working in his life. Moody had, during the diary years and during his mid-life crisis, confused self-doubt with unbelief. Edwards had made it clear that self-doubt was not to be equated with unbelief, nor was it sinful to have self-doubt, but rather it was a hopeful sign. Only hypocrites have no self-doubt. A man might doubt his salvation--in fact, he must doubt it if he is ever to be effectually converted. Thus self-doubt was, in effect, a means of grace--a hopeful sign to the anxious sinner who worried about whether or not God had predestined him to salvation. This was a matter of certainty for both Edwards and Shepard.²¹ Moody's reading of Edwards's Religious Affections helped him to put his earlier travail into perspective and to make sense of the experience

of despair that had driven him to the edge of madness. Edwards's great work was not merely "the ultimate philosophy of revivalism," it was a masterful rehabilitation of Shepard's work to make it fit the spiritual needs of a new era. It brought preparationist theory and practice to a definitive conclusion, while preserving the heart of Shepard's spiritual discipline for a more broadly conceived nurture of the Christian life than the preparationists had provided for.

The commentator's summary of Shepard's view of repentance and faith fits Moody's personal religious experience, but by itself this would not be enough to make a case for these being Moody's words. The opinion that the commentator's hand was indeed Moody's is borne out by a comparison of the handwriting with samples of Moody's hand in his letters, diary, and York town clerk's records. Moody's handwriting varied over time but there are a sufficient number of similarities to the passage on Edwards's letter to make a strong case for the probability that Moody was the writer.²² Edwards's letter to Foxcroft may have circulated among a circle of close friends and associates who were concerned about the challenge Edwards faced in the Hampshire council. If Moody had been one of the ministerial associates Edwards met when he was in Kittery in the spring of 1751--and in the light of his role in the ordination of Job Strong in 1749 he would have made it a point to see Edwards at Pepperrell's--it is highly probable that Edwards's letter would have been sent to him as well as to others. In any event, the letter was returned to Edwards with notes

on preaching and a commentary on Shepard by a hand we assume to be Moody's.

We encounter a similar unidentified hand again among Edwards's unpublished papers in the Andover Collection of the Jonathan Edwards Papers at the Franklin Trask Library at Andover Newton Theological School in Newton Centre, Massachusetts. The manuscript is thirteen pages in length in a format that led Sereno Dwight to refer to it as a "small book." A phrase or two suggests that it was intended to be a sermon for oral presentation, but overall it is cast in the form of a theological treatise. It is, by and large, a closely reasoned argument on the subjects of free will, human depravity and perversity, preparation for salvation, conversion, and sovereign grace.

The writer of the "small book" is almost certainly the same hand as the Shepard commentary. There is a striking similarity of form in letters, words, and phrases, which are in several instances identical. Superimposed tracings of photocopies of these manuscripts indicate a remarkable similarity to selected words and phrases from other Moody manuscripts.²³

What shall we conclude from the presence of a Moody manuscript among the Edwards papers? Certainly this much: that Moody was a member of the Edwards inner circle whose opinion Edwards respected, and that Edwards was interested in what Moody had to say about freedom of the will, human

incapacity, preparation, grace and conversion, and other such theological concerns they had in common. We may assume that the manuscript was written after Moody read Edwards's Religious Affections and before Moody was invited to take part in Job Strong's ordination in 1749 and to stand-in for Edwards, should the latter not arrive in Portsmouth in time. The manuscript reads more like a "position paper" than a sermon, and it well may be the basis of Edwards's approval of Moody's theological position, which was close to his own. It seems unlikely that Edwards would have approved Moody's standing-in for him had he not had some tangible basis for their common position.

The words and phrases of the manuscript are characteristic of Moody, but the theology is that of Edwards, or of a position common to both Edwards and Moody. Moody set forth his analysis of preparationism as one who had experienced it first hand and had found it to be an exercise in futility in attaining salvation. Although Moody recognized the importance of common grace, the resistance of natural man to God's special grace is spelled out in nearly every paragraph. Man, in short, has no role to play in his own regeneration, which is a singular, unpredictable, and unmerited act of divine grace. The only valid evidence of grace, according to Moody, is the persistence of an inclination of the heart toward God.²⁴ Faith, then, rests not on a presumed efficacy of the means of grace--and not on illumination, or even on a conversion experience--but on the hope of one's election and on a per-

sistent yearning of the heart for what it can never attain in itself.

The preparationist-predestinarian theology of Thomas Shepard was, for Moody as for Edwards, reduced to its most basic element--the recognition that man in himself is utterly helpless to attain salvation. Reference to Shepard's steps or stages of preparation are absent, but Edwards's version of Shepard's theology is clearly in evidence throughout. Shepard is not once mentioned and any suggestion that one ought to be content with being damned is also missing.

Moody set forth the issue under consideration in the opening proposition and pursued it throughout: "Whether Man in a State of Nature has so much Power in his will as that He can believe, or turn to God, purely by moral swasion."²⁵ The answer is that "A man cant prepare Himself for grace . . . [and] if this work [of grace and conversion] depended on the will of man as the first cause, . . . it would deprive God of his Sovereign independency. God would not be the first mover but man."²⁶

Moody was more concerned with defending the sovereignty of God than in expounding how one might be certain of salvation. Man may indeed do some things by common grace "which may be sayd in some sort to be preparations" but "there is no causal connection between them and regeneration." Convictions are no indication that grace is at work in the heart: "the Heart as a Field may be plowed with terrors and yet not be sown by any good seed"--an observation characteristic of

Moody's experience with preparation. "There is," he said, "no meritorious connection between any preparations in the Creature and regeneration." If a man can lay God under obligation it must be by some meritorious act entirely his own. But there is, according to Moody, no preparatory act by which man can obligate God to bestow supernatural grace, for "there is no proportion between natural Acts and supernatural grace." If there were any way, Moody declared, that man could obligate God by performing preparatory acts, "then such acts would always follow with renewing grace. There would be an obligation on Gods righteousness to bestow it." If "grace was a debt upon the works of nature," God would be obligated to pay it, and pay it speedily. But such is not the case, Moody insisted. In an obviously rural metaphor Moody declared that "We can no more prepare ourselves to shine as Stars in the world than a Dunghill can to shine as the Sun in the Heaven."²⁷ If God were to concur in man's willing his own regeneration, "it would not be a victorious but a precarious grace." God's action must either precede or follow the action of man's will, and if subsequent, "He is a Servant to wait upon man."²⁸ This would detract from God's wisdom as well as from His sovereignty. God could not know for certain from eternity that a man would be converted if it depended on man's will. Only as God Himself wills it in each particular case, said Moody, can a man's conversion be certain. Moreover, prayer would be meaningless if a man might procure for himself a new heart by his own will. Even the gospel, without supernatural intervention, is insuf-

ficient to take away the blindness of the heart of man. Regeneration is comparable to an act of creation. It is a victory over nature, in which "man is altogether passive." Man is also unable to resist God's grace if He should ordain to bestow it.

Moody's treatise on conversion, if we may call it that, is an explicit refutation of Arminian theology, although he disdained to call it by name. It is also an explicit statement of Calvinist theology, point by point from the doctrine of total depravity, through unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, to perseverance of the saints. There is preparation, but no bargaining with God. Rather the opposite point of view is set forward, that God is in no way obligated to respond to man's overtures. Moody, who had traversed the gamut of preparationism, bore witness, as preparationism faded from the New England theological landscape, that preparation for salvation had nothing to do with free will or an obligation of God to heed the sinner's pursuit of the means of grace. The Spirit alone begets new beings, Moody asserted, and that "instantaneously."

How does one know that the Spirit has begotten new life in the heart, Moody asked. "Do I live this life, yea or no. Do I feel my Self to live, do I feel a bent of the Heart towards God? Some principles of life Springing up from that divine Rest, carrying my Soul towards God that blessed Object."²⁹ No word here of conversion, and only one sign to be sought: that of a heart drawn toward God, in response to

overwhelming grace.

Christ is the Sun that Heals our nature . . . The rain that moistens our Hearts . . . He shall come down like rain upon the Mown Grass. What Cooperation is there in the Earth with the Sun, to the production of flowers, but the softness it hath received from the rain."³⁰

Thus was "Holy Job" restored, the day of his mourning ended, and his final years filled with productive activity, as Whitefield had besought the Lord on his behalf. Moody was a pastor, not an evangelist, and a preparationist and a predestinarian, not a revivalism. However deep his emotions, he revealed them not in public but only to his God. Samuel Chandler, whom he preceded and followed as pastor of the Upper Parish Church in York, provides some exceptional glimpses into the details of the last seven years of Moody's life. In Chandler's diary we see Moody, from 1746 on, frequently at meetings and often praying, sometimes for two hours at a time, and visiting among the people of his former parish. We find him giving public readings from Edwards's Religious Affections, counseling Chandler on the appropriateness of his administration of the sacraments after the latter's resignation from the church, holding private prayer meetings, reading again Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins, which he had first read thirty years before.

Chandler was something of a "new light" preacher, and on occasion he could rouse his congregation to revivalistic fervor, causing some of them to cry out for grace. On one such occasion when both Moodys were present, Chandler noted

that "many seemed in Sweet melting frames. Mr Moody Old Gentleman thus but not his Son."³¹ Although Moody was not responsive to the enthusiasm of revivalist preaching--he was also unmoved by Whitefield's preaching--there was an uncommon spirituality in his life and manner that touched the lives of those about him. Chandler was there when, on a winter sabbath, Moody gathered his small flock and read to them again from Shepard's Parable, that work which had driven him to despair thirty years before. "I found," wrote Chandler, "something of warmth in his reading. The Lord was present. I felt something of the divine Power working."³²

To the Reverend John Rogers of Kittery he was "Dear Mr. Moody" who came and "staid all day. A blessed day."³³ To his people he was a beloved and respected pastor. To Whitefield he was "Holy Job," to Edwards a true and trusted friend. Only to those who vaguely remembered the apparent strangeness of the man was he "Handkerchief Moody." Even to those closest to him his inner life was an enigma in an age when grace came easily and cheaply:³⁴ "But what shall we say to that Darkness and Gloominess, to those Clouds and thick Darkness, which hovered and overwhelmed the Mind of one, who, we have so much reason to believe, was near and Dear to God."³⁵

NOTES: CHAPTER XII

¹ For excerpts from John Roger's letter to Edwards see Sereno E. Dwight, ed., The Life of President Edwards (New York, 1830), 276-277.

² Ibid., 284.

³ Perry Miller quoted Moody's words to Edwards on the dedication page of his Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1959 [1949]) but gave no indication that the speaker was Joseph Moody. Miller's single reference to "Father" Moody of York might lead the uninformed reader to suppose that the Rev. Mr. Moody quoted was Samuel Moody. But the elder Moody had been dead two years.

⁴ Dwight, ed., Life of Edwards, 285.

⁵ Miller, Edwards, 208.

⁶ Edwards's "Diary," December 18, 1722, in Dwight, ed., Life of Edwards, 76.

⁷ Ibid., 94. Edwards's "Diary," August 12, 1723.

⁸ Jonathan Edwards, Religious Affections, ed. by John E. Smith, The Works of Jonathan Edwards, II (New Haven, 1959 [originally published as A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections (Boston, 1746)]). Samuel Chandler Journal, F. Ms c456, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., entry for June 8, 1746: "In the morning Mr Jos Moody came up He made the first Prayer. I preached from Gall 2.20 middle Clause He read at noon Mr. Edwards upon Religious Affections I preached in / Afternoon & prayd the first prayer was much assisted & enlarged Some cried out many . . . affected --"

⁹ According to Thomas H. Johnson, The Printed Writings of Jonathan Edwards 1703-1758: A Bibliography (Princeton, 1940) 114-115, the "well-known apostrophe in praise of Sarah Pierrepont was first printed in Dwight's Life of Edwards."

¹⁰ For Edwards's letter to his daughter, see Dwight, ed., Life of Edwards, 285-286. Mary Edwards remained in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, with friends. The letter was dated Northampton, July 26, 1749.

11 Miller, Edwards, 177.

12 Edwards's works available to Moody prior to 1746: A Faithful Narrative of the Surprizing Work of God (Boston, 1736), a work which went through three editions and twenty printings by 1739; Discourses on Various Important Subjects, Nearly concerning the great Affair of the Soul's Eternal Salvation (Boston, 1738); The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God (New Haven, 1741); Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion (New Haven, 1742).

13 Edwards, Religious Affections, editor's introduction, 56.

14 Moody, as a young man, had tried, as Edwards had, to make his own religious experience "fit" the preparationist model of conversion; Edwards resolved the matter for himself by ignoring the stages of the process.

15 Dwight, ed., Life of Edwards, 474, 481.

16 He cited the substance of page eighty, which corresponds only to the 1736 edition of Thomas Shepard, The Sound Believer (Boston, 1736).

17 Edwards, Religious Affections, 337.

18 In a letter to William Hobby of Wakefield (1707-1765) from Stockbridge, June 1751, Edwards insisted that he did not require those being received into the church to profess conversion but simply "godliness." A person ought to be accepted, said Edwards, even though he should have doubts about being converted. Furthermore, "I should think a minister, or a church, had no right to debar such a professor, though he should say he did not think himself converted. For I call that a profession of godliness, which is a profession of the great things wherein godliness consists, and not a profession by an individual, of his own opinion of his good estate." Dwight, Life of Edwards, 454-455.

19 Shepard, Sound Believer, 83.

20 See Chapter I, note 3.

21 See Edwards, Religious Affections, 465-513, "Related Correspondence," the letters between Edwards and Thomas Gillespie of Carnock, Scotland, for Edwards's views on the distinction between doubt and unbelief; Edwards, like Shepard, held that the absence of self-doubt was a sign of hypocrisy.

²² See Appendix III: A Comparison of Handwriting in Documents related to Joseph Moody. Anita Rutman, who has examined and compared photocopies of these documents, supports the author's opinion that these documents are in Moody's hand.

²³ See Appendix III. Anita Rutman has examined and compared a photocopy of the "small book" with the above mentioned Moody documents and concludes that it is in Moody's hand. The "small book" is in "No date" folder number three, item three of the Andover Collection of the Jonathan Edwards Papers and is labelled "Unidentified, 'Miscellaneous observations on Justification'." The document actually has little or nothing to do with the doctrine of justification as such. Its central concerns are preparation, conversion, and sovereign grace. The most appropriate designation would seem to be "a treatise on conversion and grace."

²⁴ "Treatise on Conversion and Grace," 13. Andover Collection, Edwards Papers, "No Date" Folder 3, item 3.

²⁵ Ibid., 1.

²⁶ Ibid., 4.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Chapter II includes a discussion of Perry Miller's interpretation of the Puritan understanding and use of preparation. Moody's diary experience, as we have seen, does not support Miller's interpretation of preparationism as a device for bargaining with God concerning one's salvation. The "Treatise on Conversion and Grace" explicitly repudiates the notion that God was in any way obligated to yield to man's importunity.

²⁹ "Treatise on Conversion and Grace," 13.

³⁰ Ibid., 10.

³¹ Chandler Journal, September 23, 1746.

³² Ibid., January 14, 1750.

³³ John Rogers, "Diary of Rev. John Rogers, 1748. Transcribed from fragmentary leaves, by William Fogg, 1848," Old Eliot, A Quarterly Magazine of the History and Biography of the Upper Parish of Kittery, Now Eliot, VII (1906), 16.

34 Miller, Edwards, 166.

35 Joseph Embalmed: An Attempt to preserve the Memory
of that excellent and very useful servant of GOD, the Rev.
Joseph Moody of York, who deceased March 20th, 1753 (Boston,
1753).

CHAPTER XIII

AFTERWORD: IMPLICATIONS FOR NEW ENGLAND PURITANISM

What shall we say indeed of the darkness and gloominess of Moody's mind and spirit during the diary years and at the height of his mid-life crisis? We may consider two ways of approaching this subject: By way of the psychology of religion, or by way of the history of ideas. We have chosen, in this study, the latter as "the road less traveled by."

Moody lived and kept his diary at the end of an era, one in which the Deity was perceived in the awesome terms of Calvin's theology, a hidden, inscrutable, "no nonsense" kind of God who had made up His mind what He would do with the world and everything in it without asking for man's advice. He had, long before the world was made, chosen from among sinful men some to be saved who would spend eternity in His presence expressing their gratitude to Him for their salvation. The others, so Calvin had asserted, He simply passed by and left to the just consequences of their unredeemed natures.

The Puritans of old and New England, however, were not content merely to leave the matter with God, as Calvin had warned must be done in respect to the election of particular individuals, but sought instead to devise a scheme by which a man might at least foresee, even if he could not control, his destiny. Preparation was thus conceived, not so much as a way of gaining access to God's free grace (ostensibly) as a

way of determining whether there were marks or signs of grace in one's life that pointed toward the hope of redemption. Yet for Hooker and Shepard, and those who followed their lead, preparation was a search for signs of hypocrisy rather than of grace. The more earnestly one looked for hypocrisy the more likely one was to find it. And if one found oneself to be a "gospel hypocrite"--living under the gospel, professing faith, but without grace or a conversion experience--one was probably also reprobate and without hope. That was Moody's conclusion about his spiritual state.

Moody followed the letter of Shepard's preparatory scheme but failed to experience conversion through it. He concluded that he was reprobate, but nevertheless sought to find a basis for hope through various alternatives to preparationist-predestinarian theology. Failing this, he was at length thrown back upon the despair and theocentric anxiety he had felt in his early manhood during the diary years. After a mid-life crisis that incapacitated him for the work of the ministry he recovered his mental and physical health and reordered his religious perspective along new lines set forth in Edwards's Religious Affections. Edwards dissociated the search for signs of grace from the preparatory process and transformed the process of preparation into the means of Christian growth. Edwards, chastened by the aberrations of revivalism and the vagaries of the enthusiasts who encouraged emotionalism at the expense of theological understanding among their adherents, now declared that the surest evidence of grace was the

consistency with which one lived the Christian life rather than the conversion experience per se.¹ Edwards made it possible for Moody, and others like him who were believers but "unconverted," to rediscover a basis for hope in Christ and a place of acceptance within the fold of orthodox Puritanism.

Moody stands as a model of one of the last of the "old school" preparationists who was unable or unwilling to come to terms with the "new" conversionist theology of the revivalists. For him, as for Edwards, self-doubt was the basis on which faith and true affections were to be tested and, like Edwards, he anticipated those who made their boldest affirmation by declaring their "willingness to be damned for the glory of God."

The Great Awakening was a watershed in New England religious history because it marked the emergence of a radically new conception of the meaning of conversion experience. The distinction between pre-Awakening Puritan theology and practice and the religious perspectives of the new era has been obscured by historical and theological assumptions that there was a clearly defined continuity between the two eras. Historians and theologians, however, have a habit of looking at the past in terms of subsequent developments. No one can, of course, escape the bias inherent in the knowledge of subsequent developments, but one has the responsibility to recognize its existence.

There were, indeed, threads of continuity between the two eras, or rather, between religious experience as felt and

perceived by religious participants of these two eras. But there is one critical distinction that must be made if we are to understand the dramatic difference between them. In Puritan religious experience before the Awakening, conversion was generally perceived and experienced as God's saving action on the soul through a more or less clearly defined process of preparatory discipline. During and after the Great Awakening, imperceptibly at first, conversion came to be perceived as the result of the individual's response to the gospel--immediate, crucial, definitive, and final. No longer was it necessary for the converted individual to look back over his or her previous or current experience for signs of grace or hypocrisy. Once one had become converted or "born again" one's relationship to God rested entirely on that experience.

Richard Lovelace, in his important study of the origins of American evangelicalism, points out that "one of the identifying marks of the evangelical tradition descending from eighteenth century awakenings"--spiritual rebirth as the necessary first experience of all true believers--ultimately resulted in an imbalance, "a 'loading' of the conversion experience" with extremely heavy freight that often adversely affected the Christian life in its growth to maturity.² Lovelace is correct, it appears, in his appraisal of the excessive evangelical dependence on a singular conversion experience. But whether or not one may, as he does, read such evangelicalism back into Puritanism is open to question.

Puritans from Shepard to Edwards insisted on the impor-

tance of religious self-doubt before and after the conversion experience. Evangelicals, like Thomas Gillespie, Edwards's Scottish correspondent, equated self-doubt with unbelief. Preparationists and other Puritans often spoke of a "second" conversion, indicating that they regarded conversion as but part of an on-going process of Christian growth.

Conversion, then, meant something quite different for New Englanders after the Great Awakening than before. Before the Awakening, under preparationist-predestinarian sponsorship, conversion was a protracted, soul-wrenching experience through which the individual pursued a fearful search for signs of grace or hypocrisy. Only when the individual became convinced he was lost--and resigned himself to being "content" with his fate--only then might he, perhaps, be saved. For those who, like Moody, stopped short of the humiliation of despair of salvation there was the gnawing, spiritually corrosive experience of theocentric anxiety--the ultimate despair of one's salvation without contentment or hope.

Conversion as experienced by multitudes during and after the Great Awakening had nothing at all to do with preparation. It was the reversal of the "holy rape" that Perry Miller attributed to Calvin's God. The repentant sinner simply lay hold of the Deity in a frenzy of religious passion and the deed was done. The soul was forever united with God. In the heat of the Great Awakening religious affections not rooted in the understanding, Edwards warned, were false. But the stage had been set, by the second quarter of the eighteenth century, for

a revolt against the rigorous preparationist discipline that had long been required before one might be assumed to be converted, and once the revivalists began their work there was no longer a basis for appealing to the understanding. The rank and file of New Englanders had been more often intimidated than convinced by the likes of Samuel Moody, and when the revival came depressed souls in places like York and Durham, New Hampshire, threw off the oppressive yoke of preparationism, and the doctrine of predestination with it, with an ecstatic cry of relief and seized upon the Deity with the fervor of passionate lovers.

Joseph Moody--his diary, his career, his crisis, his restoration--provides a basis for a revision of certain assumptions about New England Puritanism and the rise of Anglo-Arminian theology as an alternative to Calvinism. The preparationist theology of Shepard, instead of providing an alternative to the Calvinist dogma of human depravity, drove men of weak faith and self-doubt to search for alternatives to the traditional theology. The modification of New England Puritanism in the first half of the eighteenth century was, first of all, a growing reaction against the pervasive influence of Shepard's preparationist theology and a transformation of preparationism into what Cotton Mather called "engines of piety." This modification of New England Puritanism was part of a larger process of the Anglicization of colonial life and the transformation of the colonial theological perspective

through the importation of English and European books and ideas. Joseph Moody, in the pages of his diary, bore witness to this process as experienced by an individual on the northern frontier of New England. It seems plausible that the factors which influenced him would have been all the more evident to those in less remote areas.

The tensions apparent in the Moody diary, reflecting the concerns of one individual, were not entirely unique within Puritanism, but were present in the lives of hundreds--and perhaps thousands--of persons throughout New England across whose hearts and minds the long shadow of Thomas Shepard fell. Moody's experience provides a clue to what it felt like--on the eve of the Great Awakening--to have been a Puritan nurtured in the preparationist tradition. Although Moody did not welcome the Great Awakening or find release from theocentric anxiety by an experience of conversion, many others did and were convinced by revivalists that they could be saved without the long "waiting period" required by Puritan preachers before conversion. Moody held fast to the idea that God alone can effect conversion on the basis of divine election. Those who were converted in the Awakening revivals were less committed to the idea of the necessity of divine election, for most were untrained lay people. The revivalists appealed to the felt needs of those who either were reacting against traditional preparationist-predestinarian theology or knew nothing of it.

Preparationist-predestinarian theology, for all its subtle ambiguities and subjective overtones, was a relatively precise

statement of the relationship between God and man. The theology of revivalism was pure subjectivism, appealing to the sinner's emotions, and depending for its validation on the revivalist's ability to persuade and control his audience. The theology of revivalism--in spite of Edwards--was a radical shift away from the traditional Puritan Calvinism of New England, in effect, a tacit repudiation of preparationist-predestinarian theology which had monitored the spirituality of New England Puritans for a hundred years.

Prior to the Great Awakening New Englanders had been preoccupied, if not obsessed, with the nature of God. The Awakening forced proponents and opponents alike to shift the focus of their attention to the nature of man.³ Implicit in this shift was the recognition by both parties that the initiative for salvation lay primarily with man's decision rather than with God's action, apart from what God had done long ago through Christ at Golgotha. It was at this point, rather than in the expounding of preparationist theology, that New England preachers began to sound like Arminians.

Another factor in the transformation of the religious face of New England was the emergence of the revivalist as a charismatic leader. Previously revivals were ostensibly occasions for the "edification" of the parish church. George Whitefield, as the most prominent of the numerous itinerant revivalists, effected an alienation of revival preaching from the needs of the parish church by his attacks upon established churches and educational institutions, by his attracting multi-

tudes to forsake their own churches by crossing parish boundaries, by his novel use of publicity and self-promotion--skills that are the stock in trade of modern revivalists--and by the strangeness of his charismatic quality to New England experience.

The itinerant revivalist needed to give little thought to theological precision. His audience for the most part would not have understood him in that role. They were there to be persuaded, not edified. The purpose of the revivalist was to convert sinners, not to inform moral behavior. It was not what God had done or would do that mattered so much as what the sinner would do, how he would respond to the revivalist's message.

It may seem a long way from Plato's Greece to Whitefield's New England, but there is at least one striking parallel that gives us some idea of what was going on in New England during the Great Awakening. Plato, like the traditionalists of New England, contended for a well-ordered society governed by reason rather than by emotion. He therefore wished to banish poets from his ideal republic to insure that literature would be used for moral instruction rather than for purposes of social revolution. He spoke about the poets and their lack of knowledge and inability to communicate rationally in much the same way that Charles Chauncy spoke about revivalists and "enthusiasts."

It is no art or craft [technē, which requires knowledge] which enables [the poet Ion] to talk well on Homer but a divine power which moves [him], like the power of a

magnet. This not only attracts iron rings but imbues those rings with its own magnetic power to attract other rings, with the result that sometimes a long chain of such rings are suspended from one another, and the power of attraction in all of them is derived from the magnet. So the Muse herself inspires men, and the inspiration is communicated by them to others, until we have a whole chain of men possessed.⁴

To the opponents of the Great Awakening in New England it seemed that revivalists were imbued with a kind of irrational power to attract men from distant places to enthrall them with words and entice them into their "theater," a "whole chain of men possessed." The revivalist was, from the point of view of his opponent, a man with a single theme, not a man learned in many arts able to speak with the authority of knowledge. He was a kind of "rhapsode" who could command men's actions by his oratory rather than by his wisdom--and for this reason he was to be feared as a threat to good order and reason. He spoke as one who was himself inspired, being possessed like the ancient Greek poet by the Muse or God he praised. He might, it seemed, carry the land before him and bring myriads of men to do his will.

A new idea had been introduced into New England by rhapsodes of the Spirit, itinerants, revivalist, wild unlearned men possessed by a single theme. Charles Chauncy saw the danger and spoke out against it. Belatedly Edwards saw it too, and, invoking right understanding, called for a taming of false affections. A few called for a restoration of the brotherhood among the clergy and the churches that once had been. But the fragile unity that once had seemed to hold New England

together was broken and henceforth the churches of Puritan New England would be divided into various camps.

The "diary of the damned" gives us a fresh look at the intellectual and ideological changes taking place in New England just prior to the Great Awakening but it also reveals how great the distance was between Puritan preparationist-predestinarian theology and the evangelicalism that emerged from the Great Awakening. The diary helps us to see more clearly how a Puritan--one Joseph Moody--understood his religious experience, and what it felt like to be "oppressed by the unutterable burden of the damned."

NOTES: CHAPTER XIII

¹ Jonathan Edwards, Religious Affections, ed. by John E. Smith, The Works of Jonathan Edwards, II (New Haven, 1959), passim, 383-461.

² Richard F. Lovelace, The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979), 73f.

³ Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, eds., The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences (Indianapolis and New York, 1967), xxxix.

⁴ Quoted in G. M. A. Grube, "Rhetoric and Literary Theory in Platonism," Philip P. Wiener, ed., Dictionary of the History of Ideas: Studies of Selected Pivotal Ideas, III (New York, 1973), 496. For the context of the passage see "Ion," The Dialogues of Plato, transl. by Benjamin Jowett, Great Books of the Western World, ed. by Robert M. Hutchins, VII (Chicago, 1952), 142-148.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

A COMPARISON OF FIVE NEW ENGLAND DIARIES

The Moody diary is one of a small group of New England Puritan introspective diaries. We have selected four of these to compare with the Moody diary. The question may arise, why so few? According to Kenneth B. Murdock, Literature and Theology in Colonial New England (New York and Evanston, 1963 [1949]), page 100, New England Puritans were "especially given" to diary keeping. Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, The Puritans, II (New York, 1963 [1938]), page 784, are of the opinion that "thousands of Puritans kept diaries." The fact is, however, that there are only 131 extant diaries from among the 1,586 congregational ministers prior to 1800. Only 11 of these are of an introspective nature, the rest being records of events of personal, church, and community life, rather than of subjective reflections. Of these 11, 9 are prior to 1750, and of these, only 5 allow a consistent day to day analysis of what we may call "self-assessment." True, many diaries reveal occasional moments of reflection and self-criticism, but self-evaluation is clearly not the main purpose of the diarist except in these few instances. The 5 diaries selected for comparison were kept expressly for the purpose of self-evaluation.

The diaries of Joseph Moody, Thomas Shepard, Michael Wigglesworth, Jonathan Edwards, and David Brainerd reveal directly or indirectly the influence of preparationist theology.

We have attempted to analyse these diaries in terms of positive and negative "self-assessments," which are defined as words or phrases denoting the diarist's evaluation of his spiritual state on the day of a given entry. An expression of uncertainty about one's spiritual state, a decline in religious fervor, or the admission of some sin or fault has been counted as a negative self-assessment for that day. A comment about bodily ills or mental depression has not been counted unless it had religious overtones. An expression of religious devotion, of hope, or of religious insight has been counted as a positive self-assessment. Where there are both positive and negative comments the same day, the stronger statement has been counted.

What we have called an "index of negative self-assessment" (INSA) is a device to show the relative strength of negative self-assessments for each diary, and to provide a basis of comparison of the diaries. A simple percentage would merely show the ratio of positive and negative self-assessment. The "index" is defined as the square of negative self-assessments divided by total self-assessments ($\text{Index} = \frac{N^2}{T}$). Thus: two negative self-assessments in a total of four self-assessments and five negative in a total of ten would both be 50 percent, but in the first case the index is one (1) and in the second case the index is two and a half (2.5). In other words, the negative self-assessment index of the second case is two and a half times the first even though the percentage is the same. Also, five negative assessments of a total of five have the same weight as ten of a total of twenty, according to the index.

Visual representation of the INSA for each diary (only the Moody diary is presented here, in Appendix II) shows that the diarist alternated between periods of relatively high and low negative self-assessments, at intervals of one to four months. The chart for each diary shows that the series of crises each diarist experienced was part of a longer crisis lasting several months. Moody experienced three extended crises averaging 12 months; Brainerd experienced three during the course of his diary, averaging 6.6 months; Wigglesworth experienced two intense crises within a fifteen month period of three and ten months each; Shepard experienced two extended crises of ten and seventeen months duration in a thirty month period.

In reference to the Descriptive Table on the following page, with the exception of Shepard all were young and unmarried. The longer diaries of Moody and Brainerd record daily events and activities to a greater degree than the shorter three diaries. Moody expressed a greater interest in routine events and activities and made daily entries far more consistently than any of the other diarists. He nevertheless had the highest monthly average of self assessments.

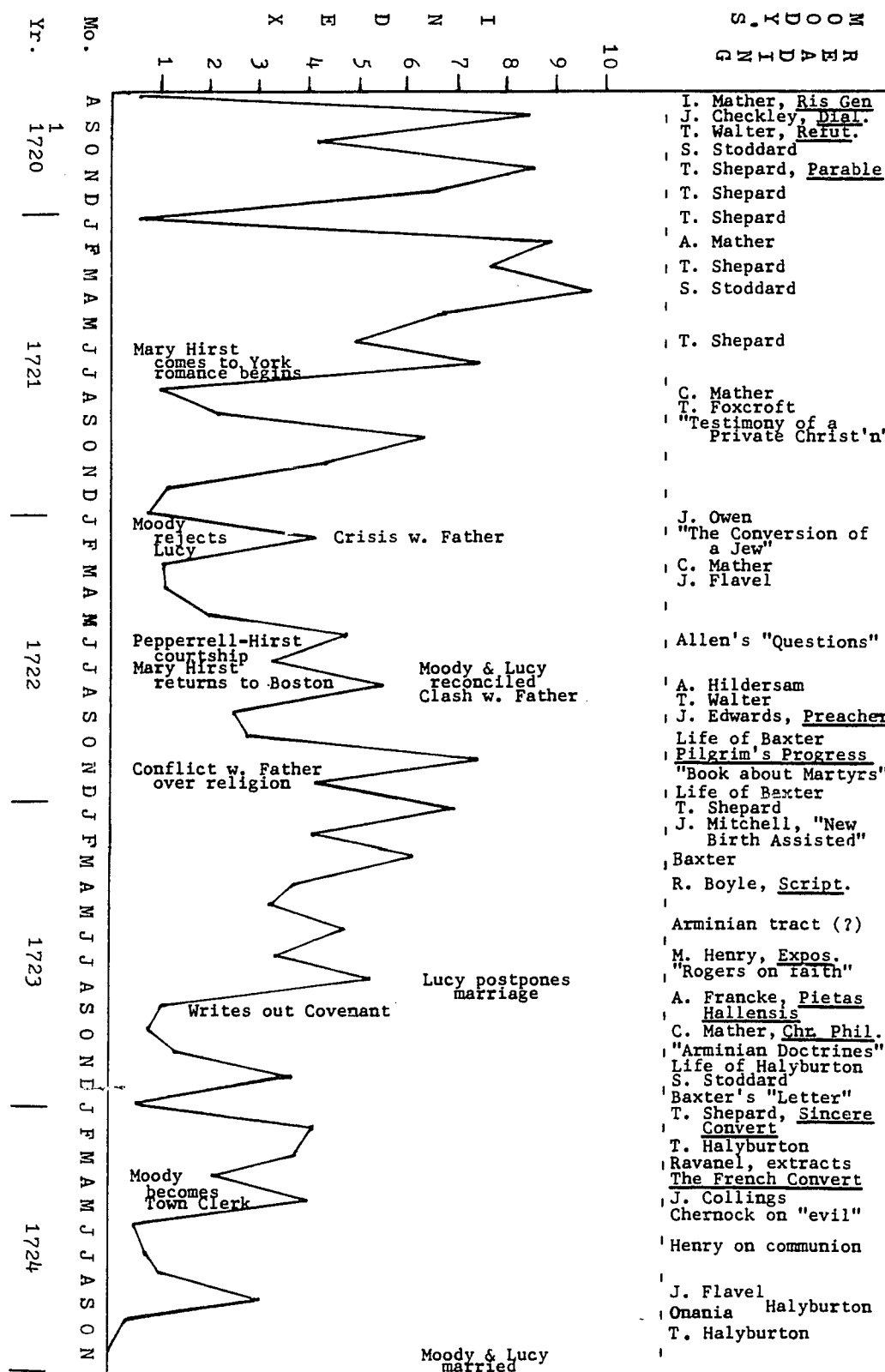
Each diary has unique characteristics. Moody tells us more about his daily life. Brainerd was preoccupied with his Indian mission. Wigglesworth was most obsessed with the workings of his inner self. Shepard mingled his self-assessments with complex theological reflections. And Edwards gave much attention to the matter of practical piety.

DESCRIPTIVE TABLE OF FIVE NEW ENGLAND PURITAN DIARIES

| DIARIST | DATES | DIARY YEARS | NUMBER MONTHS | TOTAL ENT- RIES | NUMBER SELF- EST. | PER CENT SELF- EST. | NUMBER NEGA- TIVE | PER CENT NEGA- TIVE |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| JOSEPH MOODY | 1700- 1753 | 1720- 1724 | 50.7 | 1,525 | 528 | 34.6 | 300 | 56.8 |
| DAVID BRAINERD | 1718- 1747 | 1742- 1747 | 55.3 | 636 | 359 | 56.4 | 106 | 29.5 |
| MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH | 1631- 1705 | 1653- 1655 | 24 | 282 | 242 | 85.8 | 154 | 63.6 |
| THOMAS SHEPARD | 1605- 1649 | 1641- 1644 | 33 | 248 | 162 | 65.3 | 80 | 49.4 |
| JONATHAN EDWARDS | 1703- 1758 | 1722- 1725 | 26 | 119 | 73 | 61.3 | 44 | 60.3 |

APPENDIX II

MOODY DIARY, INDEX OF NEGATIVE SELF-ASSESSMENT



APPENDIX III

A COMPARISON OF HANDWRITING IN MOODY DOCUMENTS

There are three things to consider as we compare the handwriting of documents previously known to be Moody's and those now alleged to be his. Moody's style of handwriting differed within the same document. The new documents have the same characteristic. His hand also differed with the subject matter or purpose of writing (that is, his town clerk's hand is quite different from the diary cursive or his letters to Prince). The 1751 document and the "Small Book," both found among the Edwards papers, represent Moody's hand at a later period of his life. There are, therefore, both similarities and differences that become apparent when the documents are compared. The overall impression of the present author is that these documents are all in Moody's hand. This opinion is supported by Anita Rutman who has examined these documents on two separate occasions.

The comparison presented here includes upper case letters, and words and phrases that appear to the present author to indicate an identical hand.

| | LETTERS 1718 | DIARY 1720-1724 | TOWN RECORDS 1724-1729 | SERIAL 17 |
|---|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| A | A A A | A A A A A | A A | A A e |
| B | B B B B | B B B B B B B | B B | |
| C | C C C C | C C C C | C C C | C C |
| D | D D D D | D D D D D | D D D | D |
| E | E E E E | E E | E E | E |
| F | F F | F F F F | F F | F |
| G | G G G | G G G | G G | G G |
| H | H H | H H H H H H H | H H H | H |
| I | I I I I | I I | I I | I |
| J | J J | J J J | J J | J |
| K | | K K K | | |
| L | L L | L L L | L L | L L L |
| M | m m m | M m m m m | M M | |
| N | n n N | N n | N N | N |
| O | | O O | O O | O |
| P | P P P | P P P P P | P P | P P |
| Q | Q | | Q | |
| R | R R | R R R R R | R R | R |
| S | S S S | S S S S | S S S | S S |
| T | T T | T T T T T | T T T T | T |
| U | U | U | U U | U |
| V | | V V | V V V | V |
| W | | W W W W W | W W W | W W |
| X | | | | |
| Y | Y Y Y Y Y | Y Y | Y Y Y Y | Y Y |
| Z | | | Z Z | Z Z |

RECORDS
-1729SERMONS
1728NOTES ON SHEPARD
1751TREATISE
n.d.

| | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|-----------|
| | A A A | a | A A A |
| | | | B B B |
| | C C | c c | C C C |
| | D | | D |
| | E | | E E E E E |
| | F | | |
| | G G | G | G G G |
| | H | H H | H H |
| | I | I | I I |
| | J | | J J |
| | | | K K K |
| | L L L | | L L L |
| | | M | M |
| | N | N | n |
| | O | | |
| | P P | | P P |
| | | | R R |
| | Q | | |
| | S S | S S S | S S |
| T T | T | T T | T T |
| | U | U | |
| | V | | |
| W | W W | W W | W |
| | | | |
| Y | Y Y | | |
| | Z Z | | Z |

COMPARISON OF WORDS AND PHRASESMOODY'S 1718 LETTERS:

Latina lingua mihi jam longe inusitata

you have hit the nail on the head

*you & I are fellow labourers as it were in
Christ's Nupery & oh the great triumph unto us!*

*our degenerating Land
if all Schoolmasters
were but Conflant*

Joseph Moody

MOODY DIARY:

*An Army is bound to Penobscot
very unsettled weather*

*David Sporer came home after he
had been long pronounced for as dead!
Gov. Saltonstall died. 20.*

Gurb Book

Spent this Day in seeking an itorse

*Between
Both*

MOODY'S TOWN CLERK RECORDS:

near the dividing Line

*The several Laws of this Province against Vice
Taxes that are not yet paid*

att: Jos. Moody Town Clerk

MOODY SERMON MANUSCRIPT (Table of Contents):

*And as he was yet a
coming the Devil threw him down*

*Lion shall be Redeemed
my Father is greater than I*

NOTES ON SHEPARD (Edwards Papers):

*Whether in order of nature repentance be before faith
habitual graces that are but creature, in order to*

*The soul is not immediately capable of sanctifying or habitual grace
the wild olive tree*

TREATISE ON PREPARATION AND CONVERSION (Edwards Papers):

*Immediately dependant on God for its justification
to clear up justice of God in order to close with Christ
This implies a renouncing all other hopes*

*Being born again
our being grafted into the good olive tree*

APPENDIX IV

JOHN CALVIN AND PERRY MILLER:

A CRITIQUE OF THE MILLER THESIS

An analysis of the spiritual crisis in the life of Joseph Moody calls for a reappraisal of the Miller thesis. It is reasonable to expect, if Miller's theory of Puritan preparationist practice and covenant theology is sound, that a primary document of the religious experience of an individual New England Puritan standing within the traditional, orthodox mold, and having been markedly influenced by the writings of Thomas Shepard, should bear out and validate the Miller thesis in respect to the innovative character of New England Puritanism. Such is not the case. The Moody diary nowhere points to the sort of religious experience that one would expect of a Puritan individual on the basis of the Miller thesis.

Miller's work, however, cannot be dismissed out-of-hand and Moody's spiritual crisis cannot be understood without due consideration of what Miller described as the basic assumptions of the New England "mind". The analysis presented in this dissertation is primarily in reference to theological ideas and attitudes entertained and expressed by Moody in his diary and in other documents attributed to him. Miller was an historian of ideas, and he stands like a colossus barring the way to a facile presentation of colonial Puritanism and no analysis of

the thought of an American Puritan, no matter how obscure, can be made without reference to him.

The main points of the Miller thesis asserts that the nature of the covenant theory in New England Puritan thought, the preparationist scheme as set forth by Thomas Hooker and Thomas Shepard, and the manner in which these views, in theory and practice, moved New England Puritanism away from Calvin and Calvinism to a theological position that was essentially Arminian in its affirmation of freedom of the will and man's natural ability. The key to Miller's view of New England Puritanism, however, is his understanding of Calvin and Calvinism. Only by grasping what Miller saw Calvinism to be is it possible to comprehend why he believed Puritanism was a radical departure.¹

Miller has been frequently criticized for his interpretation of New England Puritanism, and several of the more perceptive assessments of his position fault him for misreading Calvin's theological views and the general tenor of Reformed theology. But it seems an overstatement to say that Miller's alleged misunderstanding of Calvin and Calvinism can be accounted for by a simple misreading of the sources. He was too perceptive a scholar to be caught by a simple misunderstanding of his material. It seems more plausible that Miller brought his formidable brilliance to bear on his subject matter in such a way that he convinced himself, as he has convinced countless others, of the validity of his argument that Puritanism had within it the seeds of the destruction of Calvinist

theology and, no matter how forcefully Puritans protested to the contrary, Puritan belief and practice moved inexorably toward the dread tenets of Arminianism. Yet there is, it would seem, little if anything in Calvin's writings to warrant Miller's conclusions regarding his theology and little more in the writings of English and colonial Puritans to support Miller's contention that they had not merely modified but radically departed from Reformed theology. Miller's interpretation of Puritanism is therefore, one may conjecture, the result of a "bias" against Calvin. This allegation is based strictly on Miller's treatment of Calvin in his published works and has nothing to do with Miller's supposed "atheism."² It is not a judgment on Miller's motives but rather the recognition of the depth of his commitment to an idea in which he firmly believed.³

Miller's "bias" against Calvin foreclosed his objective recognition that the Puritanism he described was in fact a consistent and faithful development from the theological tenets of Calvin. Miller's "conclusion," which guided from the outset his concept of the New England "mind," required him to maintain that Puritan theology was a tacit concession to the Arminian doctrines of free will and human ability. Miller seems to have known only one alternative in "pure" Calvinism and so he, in effect, labeled the Puritans crypto-Arminians.⁴

To criticize Miller's position on certain points is not to detract from his importance as an historian or to disparage his contribution to the "rehabilitation" of New England Puritanism, but it is necessary to warn against taking his hypothesis

concerning the Arminianizing of Puritan theology too literally. After all, Miller himself expressed sincere regret that he had failed, or had been unable, to correct some of his earlier statements. He, like Saint Augustine, should be allowed his retractations. But he never retracted his interpretation of Calvin or of the Arminian concessiveness of New England Puritanism.

The research and the early phase of writing this dissertation have forced this author to ask himself the reasons for his own conclusions on the matter of the role of covenant theology in Puritan experience, and why his interpretation of the Puritan theory of preparation for salvation and the nature of the Puritan conversion experience differ so radically from Miller's. It occurred to him that if he did not ask these questions about his own work surely others would do so. Moreover, silence on Miller might be seen as ignorance of or indifference to Miller's work and, given the worth of the primary document which is the basis of this dissertation, such an oversight would be unforgivable. From the perspective of the author, the religious experience of Joseph Moody can be correctly understood only when it is viewed in contradistinction to the assumptions of the Miller thesis.

The voice of Joseph Moody still speaks through his diary and in his personal anguish of spirit we have a solitary but compelling witness of one who lived zwischen den Zeiten,⁵ in a time of change between two radically different views of conversion experience: election by God's decree or spiritual re-

newal by the will of man. Moody knew of preparation for salvation through his reading of Thomas Shepard. He felt deeply about the covenant as a basis of hope for salvation and he longed to experience conversion. He flirted with Arminianism and was drawn to it at various times in his life, but nowhere and at no time did he associate it with his attempts at preparation for salvation or with the concept of the covenant. For these and other reasons it is concluded that the Miller thesis is not adequate to explain the experience of New England Puritans when such experience is analyzed in reference to the individual Puritan rather than generalized from literary sources.

An analysis of Miller's attitude toward Calvin is the place to begin a critique of Miller rather than an analysis of the weaknesses of his methodology or a random selection of points of weakness in his arguments. Miller's "most biased" comment concerning Calvin appears to be in reference to Hooker's and Shepard's advocacy of covenant theory which, from Miller's point of view, compromised the doctrine of election by endorsing the idea of human ability in preparation for salvation. Cotton,⁶ Hooker, and Bulkeley, Miller declared, could no longer accept Calvin's "so brusque and unsophisticated solution," which was simply to discard the theological problem by asserting unregenerate man's responsibility for his own damnation in spite of God's eternal decree.⁷ Calvin's "brusque and unsophisticated solution," however, encompassed an extensive and closely reasoned argument for the doctrine of reprobation in chapters 21 through 24 inclusive of Book III of the Institutes.

Miller appears to have read only the institutes, so we need not be concerned at this point with what Calvin said elsewhere concerning reprobation.

In the passage mentioned, Calvin addressed himself to the problem of human responsibility in reprobation by appealing to the teachings of Christ, the views of the church fathers, and especially to Augustine, on the subject of God's foreknowledge, the universality of God's invitation to men, and the particularity of divine election.⁸ Calvin's discussion of the doctrine of election is closely linked with the doctrine of reprobation. In Book III of the Institutes, "The Way in Which We Receive the Grace of Christ: What Benefits Come to Us from It, and What Effects Follow," Calvin devoted six sections of seventeen in chapter twenty-four to the topic, "How God deals with the reprobate," this in a chapter specifically devoted to election and reprobation, nine of twenty-three pages in the McNeill edition of the Institutes,⁹ 39% of the text in this passage being given to the topic of reprobation. The weight of Calvin's argument, however, is much more significant than the respectable amount of space he gave to the topic. He did not dismiss the subject or hide it under a dogmatic declaration of God's "blind" decree, as Miller suggested. The doctrine of reprobation was a very important matter for Calvin and he knew that this doctrine would be attacked in the future as vehemently as it had been in the past. His defense of it was anything but "unsophisticated." Whether or not Miller read this portion of the Institutes, he appears to have found it necessary

to misrepresent Calvin at this and other points to establish his his own argument that Puritans made radical departures from Calvin's theology. To refer blandly to the repudiation of Calvin's theology by seventeenth-century Calvinism and Puritanism, who rejected "the relatively simple dogmatism of its founder" in favor of a more "concise explication, syllogistic proof, intellectual as well as spiritual focus"¹⁰ is to dismiss Calvin's pervasive and lasting influence on New England Puritanism in as cavalier a manner as the Calvinism of a later day was dismissed by Oliver Wendell Holmes.

By 1956, when Miller republished his 1935 essay, "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity," in which he had made his strong statement of the Puritan departure from Calvin's theology, he found it necessary to defend his essay against the facile conclusion some had drawn from it "that the Puritans were not and never had been Calvinists."¹¹ Miller contended that it had never been his intention "to deny that in the large sweep of history there was an essential continuity between the New England theology and that of the Reformed, or as they are called, the Calvinistic churches."¹² New England Puritans interpreted the Bible in a way that "must be called Calvinistic."¹³ "Federal theology was not a distinct or antipathetic system." This was Miller's way of acknowledging that many readers and other scholars had understood him to mean otherwise, that New England Puritanism had indeed forsaken its roots in Calvin's theology. What Miller had written, perhaps not wisely but too well, had been received as a welcome relief from the wooden image of the Puritan set forth by earlier

scholars, and had been accepted all too literally by a generation of historians who lacked both the patience and the sophistication to subject the Miller thesis to careful theological scrutiny. Miller noted that he had reworked his thesis "into less aggressive formulations in The New England Mind," but that he was nevertheless quite pleased that "students tell me that this initial statement is still more arresting."¹⁴

Miller admitted that the underlying connection of Puritanism and Calvinism should be "more strongly emphasized," but that what he had written earlier must stand as written. Only at one point did he revise his earlier view that Edwards returned to Calvin, and thus became "the first consistent and authentic Calvinist in New England." Now he conceded that Edwards was unable, even if he had so desired, "to retrieve the original position of John Calvin."¹⁵ By this statement Miller merely set forth in a new form the idea that the New England theological tradition was even further removed from its Calvinist roots.

The most significant feature of Miller's thesis, however, was not his statement of what Puritans believed, but what Calvin and Calvinism stood for. By presenting a vivid if not lurid picture of Calvin's theology, Miller was able to make a plausible case for the distinctive and innovative character of New England federal theology and the advocacy of preparation as an implicit admission of human ability in the matter of salvation.

It must be noted, in spite of the criticism here, that Miller's argument that Calvinism was in the process of modi-

fication by 1630 was by no means an indication of historical or theological bias. It was a statement of great historical integrity and validity. To say that Calvin left many theological loopholes, or that he did not set forth a completely clear and definitive theological system cannot be challenged. Miller's contention that the Puritans restated and modified Calvin's doctrine has substance, but whether Calvin's views were as Miller described them or whether Puritanism departed as radically from Calvin and Calvinism as Miller said is to be questioned.

Miller's insistence that Calvin's God was primarily deus absconditus and not deus revelatus, a hidden rather than a revealed God, was an unfortunate reading of the Institutes (Miller appears not to have read Calvin's Commentaries and Treatises at all). It was Shepard, the radical preparationist, not Calvin, who emphasized that men must search out their spiritual estate in the face of God's secret decree. Calvin acknowledged that God's secret decree of predestination was the decisive factor in man's salvation, but he insisted that men should not inquire concerning it. Rather they should look to what God had revealed of Himself. The first two books of the Institutes are devoted to the knowledge of God as Creator and Redeemer. Such knowledge of God is requisite to man's knowing himself, which is essential for salvation (Institutes, I.i.1). The knowledge of God has been implanted in the minds of all men (I.iii.1), although sin obscures it, and the knowledge of God also shines forth through the created

universe (I.v). The scriptures are nevertheless needed to bring men to God, and the scriptures provide men with all that is essential to salvation. To that end they set forth the revelation of the Redeemer Christ, proclaimed through both the law and the gospel (Book II). The way men receive the grace of Christ, according to Calvin, is made clear by the plain teachings of scripture and by the common experience of the "saints" (Book III). The external means of grace (for the church) and order (for society) are clearly set forth in God's revealed will for all men (Book IV). Miller's dictum that "the essence of Calvinism . . . is the hidden God, the unknowable, the unpredictable"¹⁶ flies in the face of what Calvin wrote concerning the nature of God.

Miller's characterization of Calvin bears little relationship to the Calvin of the Institutes. Miller insisted that Calvin demanded that his followers contemplate with "unblinking resolution, the absolute, incomprehensible, and transcendent sovereignty of God." Admittedly, the doctrine of God's sovereignty was central to Calvin's thought. But Calvin's God was a God who reveals Himself in mercy to mankind, and Calvin's writings are devoted largely to making known what is comprehensible in God.

The passage of the Institutes cited by Miller to illustrate Calvin's view of the incomprehensible nature of God is actually a reference to the doctrine of predestination, of which Calvin cautioned that men should not inquire into beyond what the word of scripture revealed concerning it (III.xxi.2).

Miller appears to have confused the knowledge of predestination, which properly, for Calvin, comes under the topic of redemption, with the doctrine of God's nature. Calvin's doctrine of God's nature, according to Miller, set forth the nature of God as "an utter blank to human comprehension."¹⁷

Miller saw Calvin's teachings as "relatively simple dogmatism" ¹⁸ which needed amplification and "intellectual as well as spiritual focus," and a "rationale" at the hands of the English Puritans. His impatience with the precise points of theological argument are clearly evident in his cavalier treatment of Calvin's refutation of the argument that the doctrine of election leads to moral indifference. Miller reversed Calvin's argument in Institutes III.xxiii.12, quoting Calvin's protest against those who "wickedly invert the whole order of election," and then arguing for the objections Calvin had just refuted, suggesting that these were plausible arguments against predestination. "Calvin simply brushed aside all objection," Miller declared, with a mere assertion of dogmatism. It is hard to imagine that Miller carelessly misread Calvin. It seems more likely that his peculiar reading of Calvin was necessary to support his thesis that Puritans drastically revised Calvin's theology.

It is instructive, and necessary, to note the context of the passages which Miller cited. There are, said Calvin, two rocks upon which a man may be shipwrecked: complacency due to his recognition of his inability to attain righteousness on his own, and a "brazen confidence" that he can attain a credit-

able merit on his own. In order to avoid these perils, Calvin contended, in spite of the fact that "no good thing remains in his power, and that he is hedged about on all sides by most miserable necessity . . . he should nevertheless be instructed to aspire to a good of which he is empty, to a freedom of which he has been deprived." Calvin immediately added, "In fact, he may thus be more sharply aroused from inactivity than if it were supposed that he were endowed with the highest virtues."¹⁹ This is the context of the passage of which Miller declared that Calvin had "simply brushed aside all objection." Contrary to Miller's conclusion, Calvin insisted that a man's knowledge of his inability might well have the opposite effect from the expected, and arouse him to moral action. In reference to the context of the other passage quoted by Miller on this point,²⁰ it is clear that instead of defending against "the danger that the doctrine of predestination would lead in practice to the attitude of complacency,"²¹ Calvin was defending predestination against opponents who made the charge against it that it led to complacency:

To overthrow predestination our opponents also raise the point that, if it stands, all carefulness and zeal for well-doing will go to ruin. For who can hear, they say, that either life or death has been appointed for him by God's eternal and unchangeable decree without thinking immediately that it makes no difference how he conducts himself, since God's predestination can neither be hindered nor advanced by his effort? Thus all men will throw themselves away, and in a desperate manner rush headlong wherever lust carries them.²²

Calvin admitted that there was some truth to the argument of his opponents insofar as men who do not truly believe in God's pow-

er to predestine the souls of men will use the doctrine as an excuse for moral indolence. Election, however, having as its goal holiness of life, stimulates moral effort. It was arguments to the contrary that Calvin would banish as "sacrileges" which "wickedly invert the whole order of election." Miller simply took this quotation out of context and used it for his own purpose, to put a dogmatic rather than a reasoned defense of predestination in the mouth of Calvin.

Miller not only missed the import of Calvin's teaching in respect to the relationship of predestination to moral effort, he also failed to see, or to acknowledge, that in this very passage Calvin was laying the groundwork for the practice of "preparation for salvation" later developed by Puritan theologians and preachers. What Miller took to be the emergence of the doctrine of human ability in Puritanism was in fact the unfolding and elaboration of Calvin's observation that once a man was convinced of his being empty and devoid of freedom, he might then be "more sharply aroused from inactivity" and strive for those spiritual gifts which he lacked. Nowhere did Calvin state or suggest that unregenerate men should be exempt from religious duties. The development of Puritan preparationist practice was thoroughly consistent with Calvin's theology. Only where preparationists became preoccupied with subjective aspects of religious experience may we conclude that they were going beyond Calvin.

Miller contended that by 1600, the doctrine of predestination was no longer able to hold men in allegiance, because

it did not provide a sufficient "form of stimulation" for moral and religious response. "No grounds for moral obligation or individual assurance could be devised so long as God was held to act in ways that utterly disregarded human necessities or human logic."²³ The question is not whether Puritanism at some point in its history departed from Calvin's doctrine of predestination because it may have seemed to some not to provide an adequate moral stimulus, but whether the introduction of preparationist theory and practice was the point of departure from strict predestinarian doctrine. The fact is that the doctrine of predestination was implicit in every expression of preparationist theory, and preparatory activity was seen as the first notion of God's Spirit in rousing the sinner from moral lethargy. Far from being the fruit of human effort and ability, preparation was essentially the recognition of the bankruptcy of the human heart. James Jones states that "for Hooker and Shepard the final and most important stage of preparation was humiliation . . . Humiliation was the existential realization of the absolute sovereignty of God over life."²⁴

Jones's view of preparation contradicts Miller's view that preparation was an assertion of human ability. It was Giles Firmin rather than Shepard, according to Jones, who undercut the Calvinist character of Puritanism. Firmin's argument with Shepard was that an easier and more rational way [Jones's term] must be found than conversion of the sinner by way of the experience of humiliation. "But beyond that, when a theology was judged (as Firmin constantly implied it should

be) by whether or not it satisfied men's appetites rather than the glory or will of God, Puritanism was dead."²⁵ If one accepts the basic validity of Jones's argument, it becomes apparent that the demise of Calvinist Puritanism came about from factors other than preparationist theory and practice.

The corrective that Jones offers to the Miller thesis is worth examining more closely at this point. Firmin was not opposed to preparation per se, according to Jones. But Firmin was opposed to humiliation as the final and crucial stage of the process. Jones holds that the basis on which Firmin rejected preparational humiliation indicates a shift from theological to anthropological considerations, a significant departure from the mainstream of Puritan thought. Firmin, according to Jones, argued that theological considerations, especially the matter of conversion, "should be judged by their congruence with man's nature and not God's will or word." In taking that position, Jones argues, Firmin pushed Puritanism far along the way toward humanism.²⁶ Thus Jones, without specific reference to the Miller thesis, provides an alternative to Miller's view that the teachings and practice of Shepard and the preparationists led to the Arminianizing of Puritanism. It was Firmin, not the preparationists, Jones states, who led Puritanism toward a man-centered faith. For Firmin, one's own happiness was the proper goal of one's life, and to be content with being damned as required by preparational humiliation was just too much to expect of human nature, regenerate or unregenerate. One problem posed by Jones' argument is the question of the

extent of Firmin's influence on the development of New England Puritanism. Jones does not deal with this question, but states that it was Samuel Willard who, by endorsing this scheme, turned the "theological mind of New England" toward a man-centered religion.²⁷ Jones points out that Firmin emphatically denied that his views had Arminian implications, but that he, and Willard, contributed toward a "lowering" of the standards of conversion, which, again contrary to Miller, the preparationists were reluctant to do.

Miller's case for the innovative nature of preparationist theory and covenant theology is based largely on his attempt to drive a theological wedge between the Puritans of old and New England and Calvin's theology. For Miller, Calvinist conversion was, as someone has characterized violent death, "sudden and awefull." William Perkins, who was "in every respect a meticulously sound and orthodox Calvinist,"²⁸ reduced the beginning of man's effort toward regeneration to "the merest desire to be saved," according to Miller.²⁹ Perkins, said Miller, "instead of conceiving of grace as some cataclysmic, soul-transforming experience [as Calvin saw it, according to Miller], . . . whittles it down almost, but not quite, to the vanishing point."³⁰ Miller cited Perkins' reference to "A Graine of Mustard Seed," as "a tiny seed planted in the soul," and that "it is up to the soul" to make it grow.³¹ This idea, Miller asserted, was a palliative which "lessened the area of human ability" and gave the evangelical preacher a prod to stir the spiritually indolent. Miller, however, failed to note that

the basis of Perkins' simile was the New Testament Parable of the Mustard Seed.³² George N. Marsden has pointed out that Miller characteristically ignored the biblical sources of Puritan ideas.³³ Miller was so intent on demonstrating the innovative character of Puritan thought that he failed to note its roots in the biblical tradition as well as in Calvin's theology. Miller might have made a stronger case if he had called attention to some of the real differences between Calvin's exegetical method and Puritan subjective interpretation of the Bible, but that in itself does not prove the argument for the alleged Puritan concessiveness toward human ability.

Miller stated that Calvin, like Luther, made hardly any mention of the covenant.³⁴ But, as a matter of fact, Calvin made sixty-three distinctive references to the covenant in the Institutes alone. Two of these are in Book I, twenty-three in Book II which deals with the Knowledge of God as Redeemer, fourteen in Book III which deals with the way the believer receives grace; and twenty-four are in Book IV which deals with the external means of grace (the church, church discipline, and the sacraments).

The Puritan concept of the covenant, according to Miller, was a bold departure from Calvinism that "must have caused John Calvin to turn in his grave," and which gave a whole new direction to Christian theology.³⁵ Miller's view, however, is not supported by modern Calvin studies. Thus Everett Emerson, in a persuasive and definitive critique of Miller's thesis that Puritan covenant theology was a radical departure from primitive

Calvinism, points out that covenant theology flourished on the Continent and among English Puritans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He holds that the misconception of the Puritan origins of covenant theology grew out of the "unfortunate error" of comparing Calvin's theological teachings in the Institutes with "the sermon teachings of such so-called covenant theologians as the New Englanders Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, and Thomas Shepard."³⁶ It would be more appropriate, he suggests, to compare their sermons with Calvin's sermons and with other writings of Calvin besides the Institutes only.

Jens G. Møller, in an incisive criticism of Miller, interprets Calvin's concept of the covenant to mean that God certainly offered grace and demanded obedience, but that He did not recompense obedience by offering grace. Møller contends that the Puritans held strictly to the position of Calvin on this point. "The tendency to separate Perkins and his puritan colleagues from the Continental background is, to say the least, misleading."³⁷

The key to Miller's concept of the covenant is the word "bargain," a word which Miller used to convey the notion that the Puritans thought of the covenant in terms of negotiation between man and God rather than of God's agreement with or promise to man. Miller's concept of the covenant is unquestionably beyond the range of Calvin's meaning, but it is highly questionable whether Miller's dictum accurately reflects Puritan covenant thought.

Miller argued that the seventeenth chapter of the book

of Genesis became the basic text for the new perspective of Puritan theology regarding the covenant. He claimed that the innovative character of the Puritan concept becomes apparent when John Preston's interpretations of Genesis 17 are compared with Calvin's. He cited Preston to the effect that the covenant has two sides, and that God made a promise on His part to be the God of the Hebrews, and that He required them, on their part, to be perfect, upright, and without hypocrisy. Miller claimed that Calvin "finds no such proposal" in the passage, but only an affirmation of "the permanence of God's promises,"³⁸ as evidenced primarily in circumcision and baptism. Calvin, in fact, referred to Genesis 17.7 nine times in the Institutes, and to the seventeenth chapter of Genesis thirty-one times, second only in total Old Testament references per chapter to Psalm 119, which has 176 verses. It is apparent that Calvin regarded Genesis 17.7 and chapter 17 as a whole as one of the most important passages in the Bible. In each of the nine references to Genesis 17.7, Calvin emphasized not only the permanence of the covenant, but the way in which God had bound Himself to Israel: God promised ever to be their God (Institutes II.x.9), adopted "our babies" before they were born (IV.xv.20), promised to be the God of Abraham's descendants forever (IV.xvi.3, 12), and owned as His children the children of those to whose seed He promised to be a father.³⁹ Miller seems to have made too much of Preston's use of the words, "both sides and "part," but the idea of a mutual covenant is certainly implicit in Calvin's reference to the passage in

question. Thus Preston's "innovation" is not as apparent as Miller claimed it was, to say the least. It seems important at this point to examine an important aspect of Calvin's thought that has been neglected not only by Miller but by many others. The issue at hand, in the context of a critique of Miller's thesis, is how souls come to grace, whether by a "sudden seizure," or by a process of preparation. If it can be demonstrated that Calvin consistently held to the one view and the Puritans to the other, we will be forced to concede the essential validity of the Miller thesis. If, furthermore, Miller was correct in his assumption that the Puritans expounded the notion that God was "chained," then his conclusion that Puritans departed radically from Calvin's doctrine of election is essentially valid. If he was not correct in this assumption, then his thesis was invalid.

Deferring for the moment an examination of Calvin's view of how souls come to grace, let us, by way of review, take another look at Miller's frequently reiterated thesis and also a side glance at the declared position of the foremost New England preparationist, Thomas Shepard. According to Miller, God was bound in such a way, in Puritan thought, that He was now obliged to yield to and respond to man's importunities. Miller did not always make it clear that such expressions applied to those assumed to be already in a covenant relationship. According to Miller, man--any man--can drive God to the wall and make Him come across with saving grace. "Man has only to pledge that, when it is given him, he will avail him-

self of the assistance [*italics added*] which makes belief possible. If he can believe, he has fulfilled the compact; God then must [*italics added*] redeem him and glorify him."⁴⁰ Calvin would not, of course, have allowed so much to mere faith. After all, it is grace, not faith, that saves. Miller's bias against Calvin caused him to overlook damaging evidence to his argument that stands out in the writings of New England Puritans of the preparationist group. Even Calvin did not express the limits of faith and belief more forcefully than Shepard: "Should not a man, you will say, trust Christ? Yes, when you can in truth; but thy trust may be but presumption."⁴¹ For Shepard as for Calvin, saving faith was not achieved by man's pledge to, or even belief in, God. It is possible, said Shepard, to believe and yet fail in respect to the efficient cause of salvation, which is the grace of God. One wonders how Shepard could have been accused of wounding so many consciences of true Christians if he had made faith an easy matter of merely exercising one's will and ability.

Again, in the context of the discussion of Genesis 17, Calvin asked the crucial question, "Why, in Abraham's case, does the sacrament follow faith, but in Isaac his son's precede all understanding? [*Institutes* IV.xvi.12]" Calvin explained that Abraham was "received into the fellowship of the covenant" as "a grown man," into a covenant to which he had previously been a stranger, and so it was "fair" that he should learn its conditions before receiving the sacrament. But Isaac received the fellowship of the covenant "by heredi-

tary right" and, according to the promise, was included in the covenant from his mother's womb. "Children of believers are partakers in the covenant without the help of understanding," and therefore "there is no reason why they should be barred from the sign merely because they cannot swear to the provisions of the covenant."⁴² Calvin made it clear that he considered the children of believers as among the elect.⁴³ The example of Christ's infancy shows that other infants, born to Christian parents, may have, and probably will have, holiness imparted to them by grace, and that the infant Christ "will be for us a proof that this age on infancy is not utterly averse to sanctification."⁴⁴ Calvin emphatically declared, "we deny the inference [mistakenly drawn from I Peter 1.23] that infants cannot be regenerated by God's power."⁴⁵ It is of no real consequence, said Calvin, that infants cannot understand the preaching of the Word or that they are incapable, as infants, of repentance and faith. Adults and infants experience the grace of Christ in essentially different ways.⁴⁶ Scriptural statements referring to the baptism of adults, Calvin said, should not be applied to children.⁴⁷ For this reason, infants born to Christian parents are entitled to the "sign" of baptism, not as a means of their regeneration, but as a witness of God's promise to them as chosen seed.

How then, in Calvin's scheme of divine order, do infants become regenerate? Incapable of understanding the preaching of the Word or of expressing repentance or faith, or of knowing God in the usual sense of the phrase, infants attain to

regeneration by a special dispensation of divine grace through extraordinary means. God, said Calvin, is not bound by "an unvarying rule so that he may use no other way."⁴⁸

Had Anne Hutchinson known her Calvin, or had John Cotton shared his deeper insights into Calvin with her, she might have been able to quote the following passage to her inquisitors: "[God] has certainly used such another way in calling many, giving them true knowledge of himself by inward means, that is, by the illumination of the Spirit apart from the medium of preaching."⁴⁹ The passage was, of course, logically excluded from Antinomian defense because Calvin was referring to the illumination, not of adults, who must hear the Word preached, must repent, and come to faith by ordinary means, by being "prepared" for grace, but of infants for whom there could be no ordinary, or "preparatory," means of grace. The point is that Calvin clearly set forth as one of his major theological premises that God was free to choose and to act upon whatsoever means He willed in redeeming men. Could Calvin have spoken, by natural or supernatural means to the elders of New England, to the Antinomians, or to the latter-day Perry Millers, he would have insisted that God was not bound by any pious or logical invention of man.

It may come as a surprise to those who see Calvin and the Puritans through the eyes of Miller to learn that Calvin, in the case of elect infants, endorsed the view that future saints at birth carry with them a spark of divine grace.

"Therefore, if it pleases him, why may the Lord not shine

with a tiny spark [italics added] at the present time on those whom he will illumine in the future with the splendor of his light?"⁵⁰ It seems apparent that both the Antinomians and the New England preparationists were committed to the notion that the experience of regeneration could only come through a moment or a process of conscious awareness of the bestowal of divine grace. The notion of the individual having or receiving a "spark" of divine grace prior to conscious awareness has nothing to do with "human capacity" or with a human act of the will. This notion is clearly evident in Calvin's thought, and use of this notion by Puritans like Sibbes and Preston, if not explicitly by Shepard, in no way indicates a shift from their basic orientation to Calvin's theology. Departures from Calvin by the Puritans must be sought for elsewhere than in their alleged accommodation to human capacity at the expense of divine sovereignty and to a crypto-Arminianism supposedly implicit in their theological revisionism.

Miller's case for the innovative character of Puritan theology was based on his highly selective use of Puritan sources interspersed with oversimplifications and distortions of Calvin's thought. Phrases such as "the absolute dogmatism of original Calvinism"⁵¹ are merely convenient straw men to be knocked down by Miller's masterful prose and dramatic argumentation. For example, Miller cited Hooker's Saintes Dignitie, page 105, to illustrate the element of "historical relativism" in the long period the Israelites lived under the

Old Testament covenant before Christ came with the liberating gospel.⁵² But this is precisely the argument used by the Apostle Paul [Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians] and expounded by Calvin [Institutes II.ix.10, 11].

Miller also misinterpreted Preston's use of the word "knowledge" in his reference to The New Covenant, page 446: "I deny not but a man may haue much knowledge, and want Grace; but, on the other side, looke how much Grace a man hath, so much knowledge he must haue of necessity . . . You cannot haue more Grace than you haue knowledge."⁵³ Miller used this quotation from Preston to argue that it represented a significant step in the intrusion of "reasonableness" into religious thought that led to the rationalism of the next century. In the context of Preston's argument, however, it is clear that Preston was referring to "gospel" knowledge rather than to secular knowledge, as Miller implied.

Miller assumed that the classic use of reason in human judgments was alien to Calvin. But there is much evidence that the Puritans received considerable encouragement from Calvin's writings to make the most of secular and even pagan reasoning. "With good reason we are compelled to confess that [appreciation of art and science] is inborn in human nature. Therefore this evidence clearly testifies to a universal apprehension of reason and understanding by nature implanted in men."⁵⁴

Calvin's view of human reason was not, of course, that of the Enlightenment. Man's powers of reason were greatly

corrupted by the fall, but they were by no means extinguished,⁵⁵ and they were by no means worthless.⁵⁶ Natural reason is even capable of tasting something of spiritual truth. Calvin, contrary to Miller's interpretation of him, attributed a great deal to the powers of the human intellect.

Whenever we come upon these matters [of secular knowledge "bestowed indiscriminately upon pious and impious"] in secular writers, let that admirable light of truth shining in them teach us that the mind of man, though fallen and perverted from its wholeness, is nevertheless clothed and ornamented with God's excellent gifts.⁵⁷

Calvin then proceeded to extoll the value of truth to be found in ancient jurists, orators, men of medicine, mathematics and the arts. Could, or did, any Puritan in old or New England speak more eloquently of the value of human knowledge?

Much of what Perry Miller said about the harshness and dogmatism of Calvin's theology and the Puritan use of the doctrine of the covenant to expound implicitly a notion of human capacity under cover of the doctrine of the sovereignty of God must be evaluated from a more precise understanding of Calvin's position than Miller presented to his readers. It appears that Miller exaggerated the distance between Puritans and Calvin, on the one hand, and on the other, failed to recognize some real differences between them.

Miller failed to see that Calvin accommodated the preaching of the gospel to the weakness and frailty of human nature. His failure to recognize Calvin's use of the principle of accommodation resulted in a serious distortion of Calvin's

theology at the critical point where it was applied most rigorously to the experience of men confronted with the gospel, that is, in the preaching of the Word. When the importance of the principle of accommodation in Calvin's theology is recognized, the chasm between Calvin and the Puritans seems much less formidable.

Ford Lewis Battles, in a recent article, has shown the centrality of the principle of accommodation to Calvin's theology and biblical interpretation: "For Calvin," he writes, "the understanding of God's accommodation to the limits and needs of the human condition was a central feature of the interpretation of Scripture and of the entire range of his theological work."⁵⁸ Battles points out that Calvin was the purpose of theology as pastoral and pedagogical rather than as speculative. This, of course, is quite the opposite of what Miller perceived Calvin's purpose to be. Battles points out that Calvin taught that the entire universe as well as the Scriptures were arranged to assist man, in matters material and political as well as spiritual. In the church, the God-given realities of the Word and Sacrament are set within a structure of discipline and worship and are administered by human functionaries as a prime instance of divine accommodation, in providing the means and assistance [adminicula, helps] to salvation.

Calvin was trained in classic rhetoric and before his conversion he wrote a scholarly Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia, on which he honed the skills that made him so ef-

fective as a biblical exegete: the use of critical apparatus for the establishing of an accurate biblical text, the relating of classical culture to the text, the cultivation of arts and letters as a means of developing his literary style, a consistent fidelity to historical perspective, and, above all, strict attention to philology.⁵⁹ The methodology of Calvin's biblical hermeneutics was informed by his humanist education, and its content was born of the emergent Reformation theology catalyzed by the spiritual, intellectual and social crises of the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-centuries.⁶⁰ The content of Calvin's biblical hermeneutics is theological in the broadest sense of the term. So diverse are the opinions and interpretations of his thought that it seems futile to attempt to pin-point his central theme as theological, christological, soteriological, eccesiological, or pneumatological. The significant feature of Calvin's thought is not its structure but its purpose. Calvin's purpose was to call to Christ and to instruct in righteousness and truth men who must continue to live in this present world and win it for the Kingdom of God.

Battles points out that Calvin was very familiar with the classical, rhetorical, and oratorical use of the principle of accommodation.⁶¹ Calvin, in fact, attributed the principle of accommodation to scripture itself. He repudiated the allegorical method of accommodation, to be sure, but he sought to establish scriptural accommodation to human weakness and need more directly on the expressed intention and meaning of

a particular author, with a careful comparison of parallel and related passages to clarify doubts and obscurities. Battles illustrates Calvin's use of the accommodation principle by citing numerous examples from the Institutes. Miller was apparently oblivious to this aspect of Calvin's thought.

In the light of Battles's argument that Calvin implicitly and explicitly described God's relationship to man as one of accommodation, the weakness of Miller's argument that Puritan use of means and preparation were subtle departures from Calvin and a concession to human capacity becomes more apparent. Calvin held that in the language of the Bible itself, in Battles's words, "the divine rhetoric becomes a rhetoric of violence, of exaggeration, of unbelievable heightening."⁶² Perhaps the Puritans read Calvin more closely than Miller has done, and were quite conscious of being in the tradition of Calvin (and Augustine) when they too made use of the rhetoric of violence, of exaggeration and, like classical orators, made strong appeals human response to the divine invitation.

NOTES: APPENDIX IV

¹ David D. Hall, The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1972), 282. Hall refers to Francois Wendel, Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Religious Thought, trans. by Philip Mairet (New York, 1963), as the work which "introduced me to a different Calvin from the one appearing in the pages of Perry Miller." A reading of Wendel, and of other modern Calvin scholars, has reinforced the present author's view that Miller misunderstood and misrepresented the substance of Calvin's thought, and, consequently, its relationship to English and American Puritanism.

² "It is impossible for men to judge the inner motives of any superior acquaintance." Attributed to William Foxwell Albright by John A. Miles, Jr., "Understanding Albright: A Revolutionary Etude," Harvard Theological Review 69 (1976), 151-175.

³ Edmund S. Morgan, "Perry Miller and the Historians," American Antiquarian Society 74 (1964), 11. Edmund S. Morgan, "The Historians of Early New England," in Ray Allen Billington, ed., The Reinterpretation of Early American History (New York, 1968), 41-63, and especially 52-54.

⁴ Gerald J. Goodwin, "The Myth of 'Arminian-Calvinism' in Eighteenth Century New England," New England Quarterly 41 (1968), 213-237. For an account of a theological reaction on the Continent against scholastic Calvinism, independent of Arminianism, see Brian G. Armstrong, Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth-Century France (Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1969).

⁵ This phrase suggests an analogy "between the times" of great theological change in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries and the far-reaching theological upheaval of our own time, in which once again there is a profound confrontation between a Christocentric theology of grace and "anthropocentric experimental theology and mysticism." For a recent use of these phrases, see G. C. Berkouwer, The Triumph of Grace in the Theology of Karl Barth (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1956), a somewhat dated but still relevant analysis of the contemporary theological situation. The work contains, passim, a discussion of Calvin's doctrine of predestination, and a consideration of the vital question for Reformed theology of whether Christ is

the foundation of, or merely the executor of, election.

⁶ Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Boston, 1968 [1939]), 395. Miller's introduction of John Cotton at this point confounds his argument for a tacit Puritan repudiation of Calvin. The general scholarly consensus is that Cotton was a staunch Calvin loyalist.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ In the first chapter of The New England Mind, Miller made an unwarranted distinction between the influence of Augustine and Calvin on Puritan thought: "I venture to call this piety Augustinian, not because it depended directly upon Augustine . . . [but] he exerted the greatest single influence upon Puritanism next to the Bible itself, and in reality a greater one than did John Calvin." Recent scholarship, however, has shown that Calvin drew heavily on Augustine. Miller's distinction is therefore suspect. See Luchesius Smits, Saint Augustin dans l'oeuvre de Jean Calvin (Assen, Netherlands, 1957). Because Miller "short changed" Calvin, he was required by his own logic to turn to Augustine to find the "source" of much of Puritan theology.

⁹ John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. by John T. McNeill and transl. and indexed by Ford L. Battles (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1955 [vols. 20 and 21 of The Library of Christian Classics]).

¹⁰ Perry Miller, "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity," Errand into the Wilderness (New York, 1964 [1956]), 53.

¹¹ Ibid., 48.

¹² Ibid., 49.

¹³ Calvin's hermeneutical method and exegetical conclusions were clearly different from the characteristic Puritan interpretations of biblical passages. Compare, for example, Thomas Shepard's sermon, The Parable of the Ten Virgins, with Calvin's interpretation of the passage on which the sermon was based (Matthew 25.1-13): "Once the object of the parable is understood there is no reason to labour over minute details which are quite beside Christ's intention!" -- Calvin's Commentaries: A Harmony of the Gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, transl. A. W. Morrison, III (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1972).

¹⁴ Miller, Errand, 48.

15 Ibid., 49-50.

16 Ibid., 93. What the present author has said in chapter II about theocentric anxiety does not admit to an unknowable, unpredictable God, but to a God who irrevocably predestined each and every soul to salvation or damnation from eternity. The person who experienced theocentric anxiety was not so much troubled by uncertainty as by the conviction that God had already damned him.

17 Miller, Errand, 51.

18 Ibid., 53.

19 Calvin, Institutes, II.ii.1.

20 Miller, Errand, 53. Calvin, Institutes, III.xxiii.12.

21 Miller, Errand, 53-54.

22 Calvin, Institutes, III.xxiii.12.

23 Miller, Errand, 55.

24 James W. Jones, The Shattered Synthesis: New England Puritanism Before the Great Awakening (New Haven and London, 1973), 36-37.

25 Ibid., 38-39.

26 Ibid., 39.

27 Ibid., 49.

28 Ibid., 57.

29 Ibid., 58.

30 Ibid.

31 Miller, Errand, 58, note 28.

32 Matthew 13.31-32, Mark 4.30-32, and Luke 13.18-19.

33 George M. Marsden, "Perry Miller's Rehabilitation of the Puritans: a Critique," Church History 39 (1970), 93.

34 Miller, Errand, 60.

35 Ibid.

36 Everett H. Emerson, "Calvin and Covenant Theology," Church History 25 (1956), 137.

37 Jens G. Møller, "The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 13-14 (1962), 58.

38 Miller, Errand, 61, note 39.

39 Calvin, Institutes, IV.xvi.24.

40 Miller, Errand, 62.

41 John A. Albro, ed., The Works of Thomas Shepard, II (Boston, 1853), 197, from The Parable of the Ten Virgins.

42 Calvin, Institutes, IV.xvi.24.

43 It is important that Calvin be cited and quoted in the light of the full context of a specific passage. For example, the following sentence, taken by itself, would weaken the statement just made in the text of this appendix: "Surely this is why God sometimes [italics added] affirms that children who arise from the Israelites have been begotten or born to him . . ." This sentence seems to suggest that God's election or selection of Israelite children is somewhat arbitrary, but the next sentence makes clear what Calvin intended: "For without doubt [italics added] he counts as his children the children of those to whose seed he promised to be a father."

44 Calvin did not perceive, at this point at least, a great distance between the divine nature of Christ and the human nature of God's elect. This observation points up a major difference between Calvin's theological views and Miller's interpretation of them.

45 Calvin, Institutes, IV.xvi.18.

46 Ibid., IV.xvi.24.

47 Ibid., IV.xvi.23.

48 Ibid., IV.xvi.20.

49 Ibid., IV.xvi.19. Cf. David D. Hall, ed., The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History (Middletown, Conn., 1968), 311-388. Anne Hutchinson, throughout her examination and trial, made no reference to Calvin.

50 Calvin, Institutes, IV.xvi.19.

51 Miller, Errand, 69.

52 Ibid.

53 Quoted from Miller, Errand, 70. Jonathan Edwards, in a similar way, linked true religious affections with the understanding.

54 Calvin, Institutes, II.ii.14.

55 Ibid., II.ii.12.

56 Ibid., II.ii.13.

57 Ibid., II.ii.15.

58 Ford L. Battles, "God was Accommodating Himself to Human Capacity," Interpretation: a Journal of Bible and Theology 31 (1977), 19-38.

59 Francois Wendel, Calvin: The Origins and Development of His Thought (New York, 1963 [1950]) and Quirinus Breen, John Calvin: A Study in French Humanism (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1968 [1931]).

60 The present author's unpublished seminar paper, "John Calvin's Biblical Hermeneutic," University of New Hampshire, develops this point more fully.

61 Battles, "God was Accommodating Himself," 35. See also Ford L. Battles and Andre M. Hugo, Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia (Leiden, Netherlands, 1969).

62 Battles, "God was Accommodating Himself," 37-38.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

NOTE ON SOURCES AND METHODS

This dissertation began with the present author's personal "discovery" of the Moody diary in the Maine Historical Society in Portland, Maine, nearly ten years ago. There was, at first, no thought of a dissertation, only a desire to unlock the secret that might lie hidden behind the coded Latin text of the diary. Thus the tedious process of decoding the diary symbol by symbol began. Slowly the separate symbols began to stand out as words, then phrases, and then as sentences. Routine daily events of the diary fell into place as Moody's rather uneventful life during the diary years unfolded. But then the present author became aware that something was going on that transcended Moody's daily experiences. His courtship of Lucy White and his ill-fated affair with his cousin Mary Hirst were, of course, of interest, as was his relationship to his father and mother and associates. The external events of Moody's life were not sufficient, however, to account for the melancholy conclusion Moody drew concerning the state of his soul.

Only when the present author began reading what Moody had heard from his father's pulpit and what Moody himself had read did the picture begin to emerge of a soul deeply troubled by a strange and elusive anxiety that stirred within him. It occurred to the author that this anxiety was rooted, not in Moody's temperament, but in the belief system in which he had

nurtured and which he reluctantly espoused. Moody seems to have been a normal young man, vitally interested in life, indulgent in modest pleasures, and not particularly troubled by a sense of guilt for private sins. But there was, at the center of his life and religious experience, a gnawing doubt, an anxiety that seemed to the present author to need a special descriptive term--theocentric anxiety. It was an anxiety born of the conviction that God had passed him by and damned him to eternal flames. Where did young Joseph Moody get such a notion? That is the subject of this dissertation.

In order to explore the subject fully it appeared necessary to forego the task of reducing the diary to a polished English translation and to concentrate on unlocking Moody's secret, still hidden behind the text of the diary. Mr. Philip M. Woodwell, a friend and erudite gentleman with an expert knowledge of Latin undertook the awesome task of rendering every phrase of Moody's coded Latin into intelligible English. That he has done, and done well, with some assistance from the present author on points of theology and Puritan terminology. For compelling personal reasons it was Mr. Woodwell's desire to see the diary in print as soon as possible, so he undertook a private publication entitled, Handkerchief Moody: The Diary and The Man. Decoded and Translated from the Latin with an Interpretation by Philip McIntire Woodwell ("Material for the Interpretation provided in part by the research of Reverend Raymond B. Wilbur") (Portland, Maine, 1981).

The present author did not see the manuscript of Mr.

Woodwell's Interpretation before it went to press. It contains a few inaccuracies which the perceptive scholar will note, but the translation of the diary is an excellent representation of the original. Woodwell's translation of the Moody diary is at present the only means of checking the present author's conclusions without duplicating the work of decoding and translating the diary. The original manuscript, as has been noted, is in the Maine Historical Society in Portland, Maine.

It is important to set the Moody diary within the context of early New England diaries. William Matthews, American Diaries: An Annotated Bibliography of American Diaries written prior to 1861 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, 1945) is indispensable as a guide to these diaries and their location. Also essential as a guide to biographical data on clergy and on dates and locations of churches is Frederick Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy and Colonial Churches of New England (Lancaster, Mass., 1936). More extensive biographical material on clergy is found in Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, especially volume VI for the years 1713-1729 (Boston, Mass., 1942).

The best work to date on a New England diary is, by far, Michael McGiffert's God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography and Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, Mass., 1972). McGiffert gives us a real insight into the tensions and anxieties that drove Shepard to expound the relentless preparationist theology that characterized his life and writings.

This is not to say that other modern editions of Puritan diaries are of minimal value. Far from it. Edmund S. Morgan's The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth 1653-1657: The Conscience of a Puritan (Gloucester, Mass., 1970) is a valuable contribution to Puritan studies, and an important source for this dissertation. N. Halsey Thomas's reworking of The Diary of Samuel Sewall (2 vols, New York, 1973) is an excellent edition of that famous work and is valuable for the light it throws on Moody's relationship to his famous elder cousin. One should not overlook William Kidder's masterful editing of "The Diary of Nicholas Gilman" (M.A. thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1972). Gilman ranked with Edwards and Moody in recording what he read. Like them, he read Shepard, but with a different result. The Gilman diary should be compared at points with the Samuel Chandler Journal, in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., for an insight into opposing views of early charismatic revivalism. Chandler was Moody's successor at the Second Parish Church in York.

M. M. Knappen's Two Elizabethan Diaries, Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward (Chicago, 1933) provides a basis for comparing preparationist practice in old and New England. The Richard Rogers diary shows many of the same characteristics as the five New England diaries compared by the present author, especially in yielding to an analysis of negative self assessments.

Cotton Mather's Diary (vols. VII and VIII, Mass. Historical Society Collections, Boston, 1911) is valuable for understanding what Robert Middlekauff, The Mathers, Three Generations

of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596-1728 (New York, 1971), calls "the psychology of abasement." The Mather diary does not, however, yield readily to the sort of analysis used for our comparison of the five diaries.

If we had more of the diary of John Rogers of Eliot we might have another preparationist diary worthy of comparison with the five under consideration [See Old Eliot, A Quarterly Magazine of History and Biography of the Upper Parish of Kittery, Now Eliot, VII (1906)]. In any case, the diary throws some light on Moody's character and activities in 1748.

In addition to the diaries of Moody, Shepard, and Wigglesworth, those of Jonathan Edwards and David Brainerd are essential sources for this dissertation. Edwards's Diary is found in Sereno E. Dwight, The Life of President Edwards (New York, 1830). It appears to be an edited version of the original, but it contains some vital clues to Edwards's early views of preparationism. Edwards published a hagiographic edition of Brainerd's Journal under the title of Memoirs of the Rev. David Brainerd; Missionary to the Indians on the Borders of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania; Chiefly taken from his own diary (New Haven, 1822). Brainerd's own words reveal that he was troubled by some of the same concerns that beset other preparationist Puritans.

The best summary of Moody's life, although not free of prejudicial opinions carried over from local folklore, is Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates 1713-1729, VI

(Boston, 1942), pages 259-261. Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England 1610-1763 (New York, 1970), contains the best description of Moody's York and its environs. Sewall's Diary throws light on some of Moody's early experiences. John Pike, Diary, I Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XIV, page 147, relates the tragic shooting accident when Joseph Moody was eight years old. William Kellaway, The New England Company 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians (Westport, Connecticut, 1961), tells us of Father Moody's attempt to exchange sons with Chief Bomazeen.

Three letters from Moody to Nathan Prince are in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, and another is in Houghton Library at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Moody's town clerk records are in the Town Hall in York, Maine. The county records kept by Moody during his tenure as county register and treasurer are now in the archives of the State Library in Augusta, Maine. York marriage records begun by Moody have been published as "Vital Records of York, Maine" by Lester M. Bragdon in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, here and there beginning with January 1960. Bragdon also published birth and family records in the NEHGR, which are indispensable for sorting out individuals Moody mentions in the diary.

The 1728 Moody manuscript sermon book is in the Congregational Library, Boston, and is now available on microfilm. The published sermons of Samuel Moody are listed in Charles

Evans, American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of all Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications printed in the United States of America from . . . 1639 . . . to and including the year 1820 [1800] (New York, 1941-1959). Of the 14 vols., twelve are by Evans, vol. 13 by Shipton, and vol. 14 is the Index. Also, Clifford Shipton and James Mooney, National Index of American Imprints through 1800: The Short-Title Evans (2 vols., Worcester, Mass. 1969), is alphabetically arranged and, like Evans, is keyed to the Early American Imprint Series on microprint. Two of Samuel Moody's sermons not mentioned in the dissertation, but which show the elder Moody at his homiletical and oratorical best, are The Debtor's Monitor, Directory and Comforter, or the Way to get and keep out of Debt (Boston, 1715) and the Election Sermon of May 31, 1721 ("Good News from a far Country") (Boston, 1721).

John White, New England's Lamentations (Boston, 1734) is important for understanding the perceived threat of Arminianism, and A Faithful Narrative of God's Gracious Dealings with a Person Lately Recovered from the Dangerous Errors of Arminius (Boston, 1737), attributed by the present author to Joseph Moody, provides insight into the way in which a specific individual was lured into the Arminian net for a time.

Samuel and Joseph Moody collaborated in publishing A Faithful Narrative of the Wretched Life and Remarkable Conversion of Patience Boston (Boston, 1738). George L. Walker, ed., The Diary of the Reverend Daniel Wadsworth (1704-1747) (Hartford, Connecticut, 1894), reveals that Moody was in apparent good

health in the summer of 1738. The only record of Moody's ordination is found in "A Record of the Accompts and promiscuous Votes of the Church in Wells," First Church of Wells, Maine (Second Parish of Wells), Records, 1701-1806, Maine Historical Society archives, Portland, Maine. The call for a council nine years later in 1741 appears in the same record. William Willis, ed., Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Dean, Pastors of the First Church in Portland (Portland, Maine, 1849) is important for Smith's notations on local conditions during the 1730s and 1740s.

Samuel Moody's letter to Edward Wigglesworth, October 17, 1739, Autograph File, Houghton Library, Harvard University, makes reference to Joseph Moody's illness. Samuel Moody's letter to Benjamin Colman thanking him for his contribution for son Joseph, March 19, 1740, is in Massachusetts Historical Society archives. The best eyewitness accounts of Moody's condition are those of the Grand Itinerant, George Whitefield: A Continuation of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's Journal from His Return to Georgia to his Arrival at Falmouth (London, 1741), entry for October 2, 1740, and Ernest Edward Eels, ed., "An Unpublished Journal of George Whitefield," Church History VII (1938), page 312. The Second Parish Church Records, recently located, but not yet made public, give further details about Moody's mid-life crisis.

Sereno E. Dwight, Life of President Edwards (New York, 1830), contains the account of Moody's participation in the ordination of Job Strong and provides the clue to the relation-

ship between Edwards and Moody. Moody's association with Edwards's inner circle led the present author to search the Edwards papers at Beinecke Library at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, for further documentation of their relationship. The recognition of Moody's handwriting on Edwards's letter to Thomas Foxcroft led the present author to examine the Andover Collection of Edwards papers at the Franklin Trask Library at Andover Newton Theological School. The result was the identification of Moody's "Treatise on Conversion and Grace" among the Edwards papers there.

It is not always possible to identify the specific work Moody read of a given author. It is apparent, however, that Thomas Shepard's Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied (London, 1660) was read again and again by Moody, and that it shaped his thinking profoundly. Moody probably read Shepard's Sound Believer during the diary years, and is known to have read the 1736 edition. He may also have read Shepard's Sincere Convert. The reader is referred to John A. Albro, ed., The Works of Thomas Shepard (3 vols, Boston, 1853).

Important for Moody's understanding of alternatives and variations of preparationism was Solomon Stoddard, A Guide to Christ, or The Way of directing Souls that are Under the Work of CONVERSION Compiled for the Help of Young Ministers and . . . Private Christians (Boston, 1714). Moody probably also read Stoddard's Treatise Concerning Conversion (Boston, 1719). Moody's introduction to the challenge of Arminianism to the

doctrine of predestination came with his reading of John Checkley's Choice Dialogues . . . Concerning Election and Predestination (Boston, 1719). Thomas Walter's A Choice Dialogue (Boston, 1720) was intended to be a refutation of Checkley's views, as Moody aptly named it. Checkley mentioned John Edwards, whom he attacked, and Moody may have been led to read Edwards's The Preacher (London, 1705), which he indeed did read, through this literary contact, and thus may have been drawn into an interest in the heated debate between Edwards and Whitby, which began with Edwards's Veritas Redux (3 vols., London 1707-1708). Daniel Whitby replied with an attack upon Edwards and predestination in Four Discourses (London, 1710), to which Edwards replied with The Arminian Doctrines Condemned by the Holy Scriptures (London, 1711).

The writings of John Flavel were read at times by both Moodys. The gentle piety of Flavel called forth no comment from Moody, however. By contrast, Moody's reading of Arthur Hildersam disturbed him deeply, showing how he was often moved by what he read: "This morning Hildersham somehow troubled me [pupugit me]. Page two hundred sixty-second, line forty two or three [Moody wrote out the numbers]." The passage in question is from Hildersam's CVIII Lectures upon the Fourth of John (London, 1647), in which he warns the greater danger of sinning under the gospel than under the law: "And know assuredly, he [God] hateth these and all other sins more now, and will more severely punish them than he did then; specially with spiritual plagues. A sinner shall be more unable to repent now, than

under the law: yea, the better, and more profitable, and more powerfull Ministry any wicked man liveth under, the more dangerous and damnable his state is."

Moody's reading of Hildersam seems to have marked a turning point of some sort for him. Another major crisis lay ahead, but his reading became much more diversified, including Richard Baxter's "Life," presumably Reliquiae Baxterianae, edited by Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696); Robert Boyle on "The Style of Scripture"; Augustus Hermann Francke, Pietas Hallensis, first published in 1705; The French Convert (New York, 1724); certain writings of John Owen; John Foxe's Book of Martyrs, or one of its imitators, and Matthew Henry's Exposition and Commentary. Moody also read Thomas Halyburton (1674-1712), a widely read English Puritan divine. Two of his works, published posthumously, would have been of special interest to Moody: Natural Religion Insufficient and Revealed necessary to Man's Happiness (Edinburgh, 1714), which addressed the question whether regeneration of justification has precedence in the order of salvation, and The Great Concern of Salvation (Edinburgh, 1721). There is no way of determining which of Halyburton's works Moody read.

Moody also read something of John Collins, or Collinges (1623-1690). Collinges came to New England and was graduated from Harvard College in 1649. He sat under the preaching of Thomas Shepard, John Sherman (1613-1685), Jonathan Mitchell, and Henry Dunster (1609-1659), but it was Shepard who had the greatest impact on him. Collinges was a preparationist who

had read Thomas Hooker's The Soul's Preparation for Christ; or, A Treatise on Contrition (London, 1632), and had, like Moody, understood the implications of Shepard's preparationism. See Morgan, ed., Diary of Wigglesworth, 108, for Wigglesworth's relation of Collinges's experience: "Mister Shepard had a doctrine that here means of grace make not men better there they always make them worse. Here they soften not there they harden. This did exceedingly startle me knowing it was my condition . . . I thought I was one of those whom the means of grace was only for their hardening against the day of wrath."

Another work read by Moody not mentioned previously is "Charnock on evil." It is clear that Moody meant Stephen Charnock, "A Discourse on the Sinfulness and Cure of Thoughts," The Works of the late Learned Divine Stephen Charnock (London, 1699), I, 555-570. A few excerpts show the tenor of what Moody read: "Not a moment of a Man's Life, wherein our hereditary Corruption doth not belch out its froth, even from his Youth"; "When a Man's Fancy is pregnant with the delightful Remembrance of the sin that is past, he draws down a fresh Guilt upon himself . . ."; "Such Thoughts there are, and attended with a heavy Guilt, which cannot probably, no nor possibly descend into outward Acts. A Man may in a complacent Thought commit fornication with a Woman in Spain, in a covetous Thought rob another in the Indes, and in a revengeful Thought stab a third in America; and that while he is in this Congregation. An unclean Person may commit a mental Folly with every Beauty he meets." "All vice doth rise from Imagination."

Another work from Moody's bookshelf was that of Ravanel. Pierre Ravanel was a French or Swiss Protestant theologian known for his Bibliotheca Sacra: sive Thesaurus Scripturae canonicae amplissimus (2 vols., Geneva, 1650, 1660). After Ravanel's death in 1680, a supplement was also published. Moody, a student of biblical Hebrew and Greek, would have found this work helpful. "Cette bibliotheque, en forme de dictionnaire, est destinée à indiquer le sens propre et le sens figuré de tous les mots qui se rencontrent dans les livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, ainsi qu'à résoudre les difficultés archéologiques, historiques et dogmatiques soulevées par un grand nombre de ces expressions . . ." Nouvelle Bibliographie General (Copenhagen, 1968), s.v. "Pierre Ravanel."

A final book which Moody read, late in the diary, the acquisition of which was no doubt influenced more by the reading of Charnock than of Ravanel was Onania or the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution and All Its Frightful Consequences, published in many editions from 1700 on. Moody made no mention of his habit after reading this book.

Two questions remain to be answered: where Moody got his books, and where the present author got some of the ideas basic to the dissertation. Moody obtained books from many sources. George E. Littlefield, Early Boston Booksellers 1642-1711 (New York, 1969 [1900]) accounts for some thirty-five booksellers and printers in Boston for the period 1642-1711. Book sales were advertized in weekly papers available to Moody,

such as Boston Newsletter, Boston Gazette, and New England Courant. Moody received book catalogues on occasion, from friends in Boston, or from publishers. He borrowed books from his friends, and sometimes forgot to return them, as on one occasion he borrowed a book from Judge Samuel Sewall, then later gave it to his brother-in-law Joseph Emerson as a gift. Moody browsed through bookshops in Portsmouth and Boston, or wherever he found one. Tracts and religious books were distributed, Moody tells us, through "the eastern parts," perhaps by Cotton Mather through his hawkers or perhaps by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Checkley once asked the Society for books "to be lent to the poor deluded people of that Country").

The importation of English books was but a part of the process of "Anglicizing" Puritan New England. John Murrin, "Anglicizing an American Colony: The Transformation of Provincial Massachusetts" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1966), provides a wealth of material and insights for understanding the process. Charles J. Sommerville, "Popular Religious Literature in England, 1660-1711: A Content Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1970), shows the direction of the religious tide in old England in the late seventeenth-century, and his work was especially helpful in understanding religious change in New England. Also helpful was Sommerville's "Conversion Versus the Early Puritan Covenant of Grace," Journal of Presbyterian History 44 (1965), 178-197, in understanding the

variety of New England Puritan religious experience, and in raising questions about the validity of the Miller thesis.

In addition to the present author's obvious indebtedness to the numerous secondary works already mentioned in the course of this dissertation, special mention must be made of Darret B. Rutman for planting the seed, albeit unintentionally, for the development of certain chapters. The reader will recognize the kinship of ideas between Rutman's phrase, "the man in the village lane," and the title of chapter III, and his lecture, "Puritanism: Its Lengthened Shadow," and the title of chapter V. Rutman once described "The Intellectual Life of Early New England" as "that airy space where ideas and behavior interact." This dissertation and the search for Joseph Moody's secret are, in a sense, an attempt to give added substance to that imaginative phrase.